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UNFRIENDLY SKIES



In the rough flight ahead for Eastern Airlines,
the union wants to be co-pilot.

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THE INSIDE STORY



Despite its unpopularity with some of the public, Labour leaders reaffirmed the party's support of unilateral nuclear disarmament.

Labour Party hits the comeback trail

By Arthur Lipow

LONDON

Faced with its most crucial challenge since 1931, the British Labour Party last week began the long, difficult road back to political power. Meeting at its annual conference in the seaside resort of Brighton, it elected a new, young (41) leader, Welsh Member of Parliament Neil Kinnock, together with a new deputy leader, M.P. Roy Hattersley. Supporters saw the election of the two as a "dream ticket" that would unite warring wings of the party, permitting it to mount an effective challenge to Margaret Thatcher's Tory government and to the newly formed rival opposition party, the Liberal-Social Democratic Alliance.

In last June's election, Labour received just 29 percent of the votes cast, only a few percentage points more than the Alliance. It remained the major opposition party only because the first-past-the-post electoral system distorted the popular results in its favor. Labour lost nearly all parliamentary seats in the south of England, and in numerous cases to the Alliance. Labour also lost the support of a majority of trade unionists, new voters and the unemployed—the most obvious victims of Thatcher's policies.

The result of the election was no mandate for the Tories, who received only 44 percent of the popular vote, but with support normally pledged to Labour going to the Alliance, the question is raised whether the new center party might not sweep away the Labour Party as Labour had done to the Liberal Party early in the century. Clear evidence of Labour's weakening power could be seen at the Trade Union Congress (TUC) conference held in early September. The unions—only half of which are affiliated to the Labour Party—began to distance themselves from it, and agreed to meet with the Tory government for the first time on proposed anti-union legislation. Some smaller unions even agreed to hold meetings with the Alliance. The legislation is aimed at undermining the legal foundation of the unions' affiliation to the Labour Party and their crucial financial support for it.

With the results of the election before them, the delegates met in a sober mood. Candid recognition that the future of the Labour Party is at stake pervaded the conference proceedings and the lively informal discussions at the various fringe meetings that accompany the six-day-long event.

Four issues dominated the conference agenda: the election of a new leadership; an assessment of the reasons for the party's electoral defeat and decline in popularity; the appeals of five leading members of the "Militant" organization who were expelled earlier this year by the National Executive Committee of the party; and the issue of unilateral nuclear disarmament and defense.

Not surprisingly, the electoral college—composed of the unions, the constituency parties and the M.P.s—overwhelmingly chose Kinnock to be the new leader and the would-be prime minister of any new Labour government. Known as a member of the "soft left," both because of his opposition to Tony Benn's earlier bid for the deputy leadership and his support for the expulsion of the Militant group, Kinnock is a longtime supporter of the left-wing Tribune group of M.P.s and a lifetime member of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Measured by his public commitment to the peace movement and opposition to British nuclear weapons, and his push toward public ownership, Kinnock is clearly on the party's left. His age sets him off from other post-1945 Labour leaders, and his willingness to distance himself from the disastrous anti-socialist policies of the right-wing Labour governments of the '60s and '70s. Despite his wit and personality, questions have been raised about the depth of his political views and his ability, particularly in the hard school of parliamentary debate where he must face Thatcher, one of its most formidable practitioners.

The election of Roy Hattersley, the center-right candidate, as deputy leader, over Michael Meacher, the so-called "hard left" candidate, only surprised some because of the unexpectedly strong support Hattersley received from local parties supporting Tony Benn's candidacy in 1982. Left critics of the "dream ticket" see Hattersley's election and Kinnock's support for him as evidence of a rightward shift. Hattersley, a loyal follower of the right-wing leader Hugh Gaitskill and a believer in the revisionist views of Tony Crossland, has shifted his views considerably, partly for convenience but also because they make little sense in a time of economic crisis.

Kinnock and the new leadership face the task of reconstructing the party organization from top to bottom. The party's finances are in a disastrous state and the unions are in no position to bail them out. With only 60 full-time agents in the field and a set of restrictive agreements with the unions preventing hiring part-time agents (many of whom would be women) or accepting volunteers, the present management at the London party headquarters lacks the capacity for running a national election. Even simple tasks have proved difficult because of the party's organizational incompetence, long recognized but previously encouraged by the right-wing leadership that preferred a party dominated by parliamentarians to a mass party in the country. This faction played a crucial role in the magnitude of Labour's electoral defeat.

Whether Kinnock is strong enough to make the sharp break with the past that will be required to transform the organization into a modern, effective campaigning party remains to be seen, but the early signs are positive. Next spring's European Economic Community (EEC) elections will be the first big test for the new party leadership. Rank-and-file party members have been jolted by recent party events, causing much talk of "community action" and a "campaigning party" in conference debate and corridor discussions to draw new members and supporters into the daily work of the party rather

than addressing themselves only to electoral activity.

The appeal of the Militant organization leaders was heard in a closed session. The expulsions were upheld largely with the support of the union bloc vote, but with significant local party support as well. Opponents charged that it represented a witch-hunt of the self-described "Marxists" of the Militant organization, while supporters of the expulsions maintained that the question was one of loyalty to a separate and rival organization, or a party within the party. This point was aimed at acts by Militant members (called "supporters" by Militants who deny in public either that they have an organization or any members) that clearly subordinated the election campaign to Militants' recruitment of new members for itself. It is doubtful that there will be more expulsions, and although the issue will not go away—two Militant members were elected as M.P.s.

Disarmament debate.

The conference debate over unilateral nuclear disarmament and Labour's defense policy failed to reach any conclusions. While the conference reiterated its support for unilateralism, it also passed a National Executive statement that stated its absolute opposition to the siting of Cruise missiles and the building of the new Trident system. But it fudged on the scrapping of Polaris, instead offering to put them into any future negotiation with the Russians. Most significantly, the NEC statement avoided any commitment to a time scale for the achievement of its aims. Because the party's unilateral position is one of the most unpopular aspects of its electoral program, the new leadership's seeming readiness to step away from a "pure" unilateralism is crucial. This quite rightly set alarms ringing in the anti-nuclear movement, but viewed with the perspective of the previous Labour governments' enthusiastic participation in the Cold War and the arms race, the direction of the new party rests reassuringly to the left.

While Labour's chances of turning the political situation around are still uncertain, encouraging signals that Labour's fortunes were improving accompanied the close of the conference on October 7. This was due, in part, to Kinnock's and Hattersley's election and to the outward show of unity new to the party. More importantly, it seems to stem from the perception that the Thatcher government has even at this early date, begun to unravel. Incredibly harsh public attacks on Thatcher's policies by leading Tory liberals, a personal scandal involving a cabinet minister and, most significantly, the revelation that, despite public assurances to the contrary, the government is planning damaging financial cuts to the widely popular National Health Service, have put Thatcher and her Tory supporters on the defensive. Some of the most vociferous defense of the health service has come from influential Tories. Kinnock responded to this quickly when he announced in his inaugural speech that he had written to the prime minister demanding a debate on the health cut in Parliament's opening week.

In an October 9 Harris Research Center poll, the turnaround in public opinion appears dramatic, with the Tories leading the Labour Party by only 3 percentage points, the slimmest margin since the war in the Falklands. These results are encouraging, but the very volatility it demonstrates underlines the importance for Labour to build sound political and organizational foundations if it is to be a serious force for radical change in Britain.

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IN THESE TIMES



Bargaining on arms control by Reagan, Congress, Soviets

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

ARMS CONTROL PROPOSALS made by the U.S. and Soviet Union are usually shrouded in mystery, even when they are accompanied by "fact sheets" and pictures of missiles and warheads. But by combining President Reagan's October 5 statement with statements by and interviews with the key House and Senate members who helped develop this position, one can fairly approximate the proposal that the administration's arms negotiator, Lt. Gen. Edward Rowny, took to the START talks in Geneva this month.

By the admission of even the most diehard administration opponents, the new proposal contains several important concessions. The chief of these, described by former Arms Control and Disarmament Agency head Paul Warnke as a "very significant sign," was the president's willingness to consider the American superiority in bombers and Cruise missiles against the Soviet superiority in ground-launched Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs).

But the new proposal also contains a highly controversial plan for a "build-down" of nuclear weapons first proposed by Senate Republican William S. Cohen that was endorsed by the president's Scowcroft Commission and refined by a group of House Democrats,

to purely tactical weapons is bound to fail. "It is inconceivable to me that limited nuclear weapons would remain limited," McNamara writes.

Assuming that flexible response would lead to the use of strategic weapons, McNamara argues that the Soviet achievement of nuclear parity means that it would have sufficient nuclear weapons left after an American first strike to inflict unacceptable damage on the U.S. and Western Europe. As a result, the threat of a strategic NATO first strike is increasingly less credible as a means of deterring a Soviet conventional attack.

McNamara concludes, "In short, a key element of the flexible response strategy has been overtaken by a change in the physical realities of the nuclear balance. With huge survivable arsenals on both sides, strategic nuclear weapons have lost whatever military utility may ever have been attributed to them. Their sole purpose is to deter the other side's first use of strategic weapons."

McNamara proposes that NATO declare its intention to replace flexible response with a conventional deterrent and undertake plans to make this credible. McNamara cites the report of an international study group of former NATO chiefs of staff that has recommended spending \$20 billion over five years to provide a conventional deterrent. McNamara notes that the MX will cost \$18 billion over five years.

In addition, McNamara suggests three other kinds of steps that NATO

led by Wisconsin Rep. Les Aspin, who has long been identified with arms control.

Aspin was enthusiastic about the president's new build-down proposal, which he described as "rational" and "realistic." But other arms control advocates, noting that the Soviets are likely to turn down any proposals this fall, regard the build-down as a ploy by which the Reagan administration has won and will continue to win congressional support for the MX missile—a missile that, because of its accuracy and vulnerability, suggests a first-strike threat.

Toward the Midgetman.

The new proposal has what the administration calls "two tracks." The first track proposes that both sides reduce their nuclear warheads to 5,000. According to present counts, the U.S. has 8,518 warheads and the Soviet Union 8,568.

In the past, the U.S. has insisted that only half of these 5,000 be permitted on land-based launchers, a proposal that wildly favored the U.S., which has most of its weapons at sea or in the air. The current proposal sets no sublimits on warheads.

The proposal's second track contains the build-down plan. Build-down, as originally proposed by Cohen and Georgia

could take:

- It could halt "weapons modernization programs designed to support a strategy of the early use of nuclear weapons"—this would presumably take in both the MX and new generations of nuclear artillery shells.

- It could reduce drastically the number of tactical nuclear weapons deployed by NATO—McNamara suggests halving the number from 6,000 to 3,000; and

- It could promote a nuclear free zone in Central Europe.

In his article McNamara touches only briefly on the expected deployment next year of Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Western Europe, but his argument clearly bears on the utility of those missiles. McNamara notes that NATO's plans to deploy the Pershing II and Cruise missiles were part of an attempt to make flexible response more credible.

During the '70s, Europeans had increasingly feared that the U.S. was "decoupling" from NATO—that is, it could no longer be counted upon to use nuclear weapons to defend Western Europe against a Soviet conventional attack. Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger had crystallized those fears when he declared in a 1979 Brussels speech that "the European allies should not keep asking us to multiply strategic assurances that we cannot possibly mean, or if we do mean, we should not want to execute because if we execute, we risk the destruction of civilization."

By placing American missiles on Eur-

Build-down is seen as a ploy to win support for MX.

Democratic Sen. Sam Nunn, was a simple idea: for every new nuclear warhead introduced, two warheads would be retired. As such, it had some arms control implications—the less warheads, the less possibility of a successful first strike—but it could also have served simply as a vehicle for replacing older weapons with newer, more destabilizing ones, like the MX.

But the new concept of build-down, as proffered in the president's proposal, uses variable ratios of build-down to encourage the U.S. and the Soviet Union to move away from multiple-warhead (MIRVed) ICBMs, the most destabilizing weapons, to less accurate and powerful and less vulnerable submarine launched weapons (SLBMs) and to the single-warhead Midgetman.

According to Aspin's aide Warren Nelson, the president's proposal contains the following ratios at which new, modernized warheads would replace old ones:

- warheads on ICBMs would be replaced on a one-for-two basis;
- warheads on SLBMs would be replaced on a two-for-three basis; and
- warheads on Midgetmen would be replaced on a one-for-one basis.

So as to defuse possible disagreements on what constitutes replacement *cum* modernization and what constitutes simple replacement, the proposal stipulates that until the 5,000 limit is reached, the U.S. and Soviet Union would reduce their warheads by 5 percent annually—regardless of modernization—if the 5 percent is not achieved through modernization under the build-down rules.

The proposal also stipulates that bombers and Cruise missiles should be included in the warhead calculations, possibly through agreeing on a standard unit of destructive capability that applies to missile-launched as well as bomber-launched warheads. In the past, this was

Continued on page 11

McNamara's arms proposal

In this fall's issue of *Foreign Affairs*, the prestigious journal of the Council on Foreign Relations, former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara argues that the U.S. and NATO must abandon the threat of the first use of nuclear weapons. Going beyond the article he and three other former government officials wrote last year for *Foreign Affairs*, McNamara offers specific steps, including a five-year \$20 billion conventional arms buildup, by which NATO could adopt a "policy of the deterrence of Soviet conventional force by the use of non-nuclear forces."

McNamara describes the history of NATO's strategy against a potential Soviet conventional attack, from the initial decision in 1949 to match Soviet conventional strength through the Eisenhower doctrine of "massive [nuclear] retaliation," to the current strategy of "flexible response" adopted in 1967 under McNamara's sponsorship. According to McNamara, flexible response calls for nuclear weapons to be used in gradually higher strengths only if a conventional defense failed against Soviet forces. Strategic nuclear weapons are to be used only as a last resort.

McNamara believes that this strategy must now be revised. He contends that any attempt to limit a nuclear response

ocean soil, NATO planners hoped "to couple U.S. strategic forces with the forces deployed in Europe, easing concerns that the Soviets might perceive a firebreak in the escalatory process." With the Cruise and Pershing II in place, the Soviets would have to assume that the U.S. assumed that it would be drawn directly into nuclear war if the Soviets invaded Western Europe.

But McNamara believes that the logic of Pershing II/Cruise deployment is faulty. He writes, "For the same reason that led Henry Kissinger to recognize that a U.S. president is unlikely to initiate the use of U.S.-based strategic nuclear weapons against the USSR, so a president would be unlikely to launch missiles from European soil against Soviet territory."

In a press conference held announcing the publication of his article, McNamara expanded his remarks on Pershing II/Cruise deployment. He said there was no "military requirement," only a "political requirement" for the missiles. Their purpose was to make Europeans perceive the U.S. as ready to use nuclear weapons in defense of Europe.

But McNamara said that this was a "misconception," that the U.S. and European leaders must acknowledge. In the meantime, however, he thought NATO should go ahead with the deployment of the missiles. "I am quite content to see us deploy Pershings for the time necessary to change that perception," McNamara said. —J.B.J.

INSHORT

Ronald Reagan University?

A small cue-card exhibit would probably suffice, but a Ronald Reagan Library, Museum and Center for Public Affairs is already in the works to house the policy papers and intellectual records of our 40th president. The complex is currently planned for Stanford University, but a student-faculty coalition formed to do battle against the right-wing Hoover Institution is doing its best to see that a second monument to conservatism doesn't rest its cornerstone in Palo Alto, Calif. The coalition may have some legal clout on its side. Public Advocates Inc., a San Francisco-based public interest law firm, has advised the Center opponents that a Reagan complex may violate the Leland Stanford Charter that established the university. The charter states that Stanford "shall forever be kept out of politics" and will not be used "for the success of any political party or candidate in any political context." Public Advocates contends that a Reagan Center would violate the university's political neutrality, especially since it will be controlled by the already controversial Hoover Institution, where 43 of 69 senior fellows have been associated with the Reagan administration. The legal advisory opinion also finds that any Stanford trustee could bring suit to block the establishment of a Reagan Center at Stanford.

Center opponents are organizing among the Stanford community, distributing buttons reading "Ronald Reagan University?" But there may be an easy solution to their dilemma. The *Reader's Digest* headquarters in Pleasantville, N.Y., immediately springs to mind as a potential Center site. The grounds are green and elegant, and the magazine, Reagan's favorite, has provided him with most of the intellectual inspiration of his presidency. Establishing the center there would sidestep the Stanford controversy and commemorate two cultural aberrations at once.

Baltimore's bottom line

Even Baltimore residents who voted against the city's Jobs with Peace (JwP) city charter amendment last year are likely grateful for one of its results—a city report revealing that Baltimore citizens pay \$453.81 each annually in taxes to the military. Baltimore's JwP referendum, like others around the country, asked the city to call upon the federal government to increase social spending by slashing the military budget, but it was the first to demand that the city research and publicize the impact of the military buildup on city residents. The city wound up paying for ads to publicize its findings, along with its call for defense cuts, in twice the number of newspapers the amendment required.

Local JwP board members praised the city's action though they quibbled with its budget figures. Economist Bruce Parry said the per-capita figure should be \$651, but the city didn't include foreign military assistance and military-debt related interest in its calculations. "But either total is evidence of a dangerous militarization of our economy," Parry said.

Camp Sperry

Minnesota women who travelled to the peace camp at Seneca army depot in New York have returned and launched their own camp in opposition to the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe, Mordecai Spektor reports. Officially called the Minnesota Women's Camp for Peace and Justice, they say they intend to stay on defense giant Sperry Corp. property in St. Paul until their demands are met: disclosure of details relating to military contracts; a halt to production of parts for first-strike nuclear weapons; and peace conversion without loss of jobs.

The Minnesota encampment has received a largely favorable local response. A nearby Catholic church has been helping out the camp, which is located adjacent to the employees' cafeteria at Sperry's Shepard Road assembly plant. Don Brunn, Sperry's local manager for media relations, said that "as long as business operations are not disrupted, or people or property are endangered, we have no immediate sense of urgency about reacting or over-reacting...at this point in time."

The world according to Jeane

UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, the Georgetown professor who explained to us the distinction between murderous oppression by totalitarian governments and murderous oppression by authoritarian governments, has now shed light on a new aspect of international affairs. In explaining the foreign policy of the Soviet Union to the right-wing Heritage Foundation, she attributed their actions to a "tradition of Oriental despotism." This scholarly assessment seems to put the Kremlin leaders in the same camp as Genghis Khan, Atilla the Hun, Tojo and decades of bad guys sporting fu manchus in children's books and TV cartoons. Further, she said this "Oriental" tradition feeds Soviet desires for "a vast empire" that "denies all the values of democratic liberalism."

—Joan Walsh



Boston mayoral candidate Mel King surprised the skeptics.

Flynn, King in mayoral race

BOSTON—On election night as thousands of supporters chanted, "Rainbow! Rainbow!" Mel King made his way through the crowds squeezed inside the rooftop ballroom of Boston's Parker House Hotel.

"We started off saying that we may have come over on different ships, but we're all in the same boat now," the candidate said. "We're here tonight to say that the boat is changing its course."

Indeed, the course of Boston's political history took a dramatic turn last Tuesday, as voters turned out in record numbers to propel King, a black left politician, and Ray Flynn, an urban populist, into the final election. In doing so, they turned thumbs down on the city political establishment as personified by David Finnegan, the third frontrunner in a crowded field of nine mayoral hopefuls.

The finish was close for the two top vote-getters. With 28 percent of the vote, Flynn beat King by 360 ballots. Finnegan won 25 percent of the vote, and spent close to \$1 million—more than King and Flynn combined.

Finnegan, who earned the nickname "Downtown Dave" because of his allegiance to the city's downtown business and real estate interests, was soundly defeated in the neighborhoods. Unofficial election returns the day after the preliminary showed Finnegan had lost to Flynn even on his home turf—white middle-class voters of West Roxbury preferred Flynn to Finnegan by at least 40 votes. Finnegan also did less well than expected in the white section of Dorchester where he grew up.

Throughout the campaign (his second mayoral run—King finished third in a field of four candidates in 1979), King's toughest job had been to convince others of his ability to win. Many liberal whites and even blacks felt it would be impossible for him to make it past the preliminary, given the relatively small size of the city's minority community.

A visit by Chicago Mayor Harold Washington to a rally attended by several thousand in Roxbury, served to reinforce what the candidate himself had been

saying all along. "All during the last few weeks of the campaign, Mel," Washington said, "I only said three words wherever I went: We can win!" As Washington spoke, blacks stood in line at nearby voter registration tables, part of a massive registration drive that added at least 25,000 blacks and Hispanics to the registration lists. King's supporters claimed that minorities were registering in record numbers in order to vote for King, a fact borne out on election day.

King's decision to seek a multi-racial base of support also appears to have paid off. The candidate did better than expected in some white working-class areas of the city. He must now build on that support if he is to win the final election on November 15.

Ray Flynn, an anti-busing, anti-abortion politician throughout the '70s, sought to emphasize economics rather than social issues during the campaign. With a populist appeal, the candidate from South Boston received strong support from tenant groups and labor unions as well as some conservative whites, but he did poorly in black areas. It seems doubtful, given King's presence in the race and Flynn's record on busing, that Flynn will

be able to pick up substantial support from minority voters.

The stage may be set for a polarization of the political forces in the city, but a lot depends on Flynn. If he is forced to rely increasingly on conservative whites to beat King, his pro-tenant, pro-economic justice stands may erode. While the candidate himself is considered a man of great personal integrity, it remains to be seen whether some of his reactionary supporters—and the media—will use redbaiting and racial appeals to hurt King. (Already, one columnist and one radio commentator in the city have made pointed references to King's recent statement that he prefers the policies of Fidel Castro to those of Ronald Reagan.)

But regardless of the outcome in November, one thing is already clear—Boston voters have rejected the politics of the past, and the policies of 16-year incumbent Kevin White, who allowed the neighborhoods to wither while the downtown skyline grew. As Flynn put it, "We have accomplished what the political experts predicted could not be done. This has truly been a campaign of the neighborhoods."

—Katy Abel



Petra Kelly

Germantown's other heritage

PHILADELPHIA—The tricentennial celebration of the first German settlers on American soil brought together more than politicians and tourists the first week of October. It also united German and American opponents of

deploying U.S. Cruise and Pershing II missiles on German soil.

Police estimated that more than 15,000 people rallied by candlelight here October 6, while Vice-President George Bush hosted West German President Karl Carstens. They heard speakers including U.S. Rep. Ron Delums share the podium with Petra Kelly, co-founder of the West German Green Party, Dr. Erhard Eppler, peace activist from the Social Democratic Party, ex-NATO Gen. Gert Bastian and folksinger Wolf Biermann.

The "Friendship Without Missiles Witness" was held 15 blocks away from the banquet. It mirrored a demonstration of equal size held during Bush's visit to Krefeld, West Germany, last June, where his car was pelted with debris. Here, the only incident besides a spirited picket line directly outside the hotel where the dignitaries were dining was the arrest of seven women inside the hotel for releasing black helium balloons and chanting anti-nuclear slogans.

Missile opponents from both sides of the Atlantic followed up the rally with a conference the next day at a Quaker meeting

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house in Germantown to discuss the upcoming "hot autumn" actions against December Cruise and Pershing deployment and to suggest future joint activities.

It was the Quakers' and Mennonites' flight from religious persecution in Krefeld, Germany, 300 years ago that led to the founding of Germantown, which has since been incorporated into the city of Philadelphia. Now mainly a black community sprinkled with white liberals, Germantown is feeling the effects of the Reagan administration's budget shift from social programs to the military. It voted overwhelmingly for the nuclear freeze.

In keeping with that tradition, a peace conference in Krefeld issued an appeal against deployment in 1980. The petition attracted four million signatures, which helped spark a movement leading to demonstrations as large as 700,000. And it was the Philadelphia Quakers who started the call for the October 6 Coalition, made up of religious, peace and community groups.

Former CIA Director William Colby discussed preventing nuclear war at a recent symposium.



Anti-nuclear prescriptions

PALO ALTO, CALIF.—Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), a group that has endeavored to publicize the destruction wrought by nuclear war, moved toward strategies to prevent it in a Stanford University conference October 7-8 entitled "Prescription for Prevention."

More than 1,200 physicians, educators and students assembled to hear 26 speakers, including former PSR president Helen Caldicott and former CIA Director William Colby, address various psychological and diplomatic strategies for avoiding a war to end all wars. While almost all of the speakers called for a nuclear freeze as a first step toward arms reductions, several offered creative suggestions for other ways to prevent nuclear exchanges.

Retired Admiral Noel Gayler declared, "We're confusing nuclear weapons with national security," and said America does not need nuclear arms since "there is no conceivable way to use them." Soviet emigre Alexander Sakharov called for an immediate summit meeting between President Ronald Reagan and Soviet Premier Yuri Andropov.

Harper's managing editor Robert Karl Manoff presented a critique of the history of press coverage of nuclear issues and received some of the most enthusiastic applause of the weekend

The Mennonites responded with busloads from the Pennsylvania countryside, where they practice their fundamentalist, anti-technology lifestyle. Though loathing politics, the current situation has drawn them into charity work with the poor and activity in the peace movement.

But the official tricentennial ignored Germantown's activist tradition (it was also the site of the first recorded protest against slavery, and it became a stop on the underground railroad). That, in conjunction with the upcoming missile deployment in Germany, was an irony too striking for the local political community to ignore. Several hundred people rallied in Germantown October 1 around that theme, and it was articulated again and again at the October 6 Witness.

"I'm angry at the perversion of our history," said Kay Camp, of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. "It's becoming a sales pitch for the deployment of nuclear weapons."

—Bob Sanders

for his conclusions that "The U.S. cannot long endure as both nuclear and democratic...[but] a vibrant press will make a vibrant democracy possible."

The most dramatic speech, however, came from Caldicott. She discussed her recent meeting with President Reagan, who told her all Russians are godless Communists while admitting he had never met one. She declared, "We trust the Russians because we've placed our lives in their hands," and called for new strategies that can serve the mutual interests of both superpowers.

This theme was also addressed by Harvard psychiatrist Erik Erikson, who led a panel of behavioral scientists that discussed psychological solutions to the nuclear problem. When asked how the two superpowers can learn to trust each other, Erikson declared, "We must learn to trust ourselves."

But while the conference produced many suggestions, it also revealed that the range of issues on which the speakers agree is very narrow. Gayler's opposition to nuclear weapons was accompanied by a call for stronger conventional forces. And while Colby was cheered for his support of the nuclear freeze, he received a colder response at a press conference when he declared his support for military aid to El Salvador and defended his role as director of Operation Phoenix, a covert operation that led to the deaths of 20,000 suspected Vietcong spies in the early '70s.

—Sam Delson

Briefing: Foreign policy shifts in AFL-CIO

Most of the resolutions before the recently concluded AFL-CIO convention in Hollywood, Fla., repeated positions already worked out in past executive council meetings and conventions. But without much fanfare, there were a few significant changes of nuance on military policy and on U.S. relations with El Salvador and a new statement on gay rights.

Reflecting growing discontent among many union leaders at both the local and national level, the AFL-CIO has gradually grown more critical of the government of El Salvador and, by implication, U.S. policy there. The latest pre-convention statement called for suspension of military aid until the murders of two U.S. and one Salvadoran union officials and of four U.S. religious women were solved.

Last June a delegation of labor representatives from the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, led by Clothing and Textile Workers (ACTWU) Secretary-Treasurer Jacob Sheinkman, visited El Salvador and issued a blistering report on the consolidation of right-wing power, continuing terror, the destruction of trade union rights, and the failure of U.S. policy there.

Doug Fraser, former UAW president and Machinist President William Winpisinger co-chair the committee with Sheinkman. Other union presidents on it include Cesar Chavez of the Farmworkers, William Bywater of the International Association of Electrical Workers, Robert Goss of Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers, Gerald McEntee of AFSCME and Willard McGuire of the National Education Association.

Three unions—ACTWU, AFSCME and the Bakery, Confectionary and Tobacco Workers—had offered new resolutions on El Salvador, but Sheinkman concluded that the Executive Council's own statement was satisfactorily worded. The Council statement expanded the conditions for military aid to include implementing land reform, protecting trade union rights, establishing a "just judicial system and bringing right-wing 'death squads' under control." More significantly, it concluded: "We call upon the warring parties in El Salvador to enter into negotiations for an end to the conflict and for arrangements leading to a democratically elected government that will respect human rights and pursue social and economic reform."

National Labor Committee member David Dyson of ACTWU said that in the past the AFL-CIO has supported the Reagan administration position that the rebels should

lay down their arms and take part in elections, but this statement stresses negotiations as a precondition and includes the guerrillas and their political allies.

It is unclear whether this will be AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland's position as a member of the Reagan-appointed team investigating Central American policies under the lead of Henry Kissinger. Kirkland invited Kissinger and the commission members to meet with a delegation of Central American union leaders who are friendly to the AFL-CIO just before the convention opened. William C. Doherty, executive director of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), seized the opportunity to call for a "bipartisan" foreign policy—shades of the now-tattered Cold War consensus.

The Social Democrats, USA, a small group with considerable influence in the AFL-CIO and in a few unions that is very conservative and obsessively anti-Communist in its foreign policy, have also been arguing recently to remove foreign policy from Democratic Party politics this coming season. The Social Democrats were co-sponsors with AIFLD, the Georgetown University International Labor Program and the Labor Desk of the U.S. Youth Council of an unusual seminar for delegates just before the general board

meeting on "threats to democracy in Central America," which one union official saw as an attempt to counter the influence of the National Labor Committee.

In response to resolutions favoring a nuclear freeze, which the AFL-CIO Executive Council has not supported, the compromise final resolution includes this unusual observation: "Among our membership, as in society, a majority favor a verifiable bilateral nuclear freeze. Others are skeptical. But we are united in our conviction that the nuclear arms race must be halted and reversed, with radical reductions in the warhead stockpiles on both sides...." Just before the convention, the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) apparently became the first AFL-CIO union to call for a year delay in deployment of the Cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe.

Finally, for the first time the AFL-CIO supported legislative and collective bargaining action against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation (at the initiative of the Service Employees union). UFCW vice-president William J. Orwell, the highest ranking openly gay union leader in the U.S., later said—after a short speech on behalf of the resolution from the floor—that the vote made him "very proud of the labor movement. When gays go before city councils and legislatures, we can say to them and to unions that we want you to support it and that the AFL-CIO resolution justifies that."

—David Moberg

The AFL-CIO is getting more critical of U.S. policy in El Salvador.



John Hoagland

IN THE NATION

AIRLINES

Turbulence forces unions to demand more control



Continental Airlines workers (above) struck after two-thirds lost their jobs when the firm declared bankruptcy.

Eastern workers think Borman's management strategy is bankrupt.

By David Moberg

MIAMI

COL. FRANK BORMAN, THE former astronaut at the helm of Eastern Airlines, and of Eastern Airlines, and three newly cooperative unions, Machinist district president Charles Bryan, have locked horns in a battle that broadens the arena of conflict between labor and management in the U.S.

Following the lead of Continental Airlines, Borman invoked the threat of bankruptcy—the latest tool in the corporate anti-union kit—to force major concessions from the unions. But Bryan and the unions have responded with new demands for access to heretofore confidential company financial documents, greater worker control over traditionally managerial decisions, bargaining over a broad range of corporate financial obligations and a change in management itself.

"Bankruptcy no, Borman must go," read many of the picket signs as nearly all of the 4,000 day-shift Machinists at Eastern's Miami headquarters—bolstered by a delegation of pilots and flight attendants—took to the street during a lunch-hour protest in early October.

Charles Bryan, 49, elected president in 1980 of the Machinist district that encompasses 45 locals and 13,500 Eastern employees, was on the line with his picket sign as well. "Last June we made a last effort to work together and cooperate [with Borman]," he said. "We pledged our support and harmony. We were totally sincere. I also said this will

be the last time we'll be betrayed by this man. Borman started this whole thing back in 1976 when he said he was going to get what he wanted or he'd quit. On a regular basis he's made this threat. Now we're saying, "Leave," and he isn't interested in leaving. I just don't believe we can respect Borman's integrity. How can you expect employees to turn back 15 percent of their salaries and still have Frank Borman—the same management as over the last years?"

Borman's threats and cries of impending catastrophe as a way to exact conces-

sions from employees go back to 1975, when he took control of the financially ailing company. Likewise, the union demands to share managerial prerogatives and information have a long history that originated with workers' sense of betrayal by Borman and with their growing interest in management financial decisions since they first made concessions in 1976.

Following a one-year wage freeze and a cut of 2,000 employees that year, Borman returned with a "variable earnings program" (VEP). The unions accepted the proposal that employees contribute 3.5 percent of their pay each year to Eastern. If profits were greater than 2 percent of gross earnings, the company would share its profits. Over the next five years, Eastern workers lost \$140 million. If workers had spent that money collectively on Eastern stock, they would now completely own the company and could fire Borman.

Most of them would. The last five years of airline deregulation have been tumultuous, but Borman has created singularly serious problems for Eastern. Deregulation reduced by over one-fifth the profitability of major, long-distance lines where companies have engaged in heavy discounting and price wars, while reducing the quality of service for smaller cities and shorter routes, where profits have increased greatly (and prices often have as well), according to Nawal K. Taneja, an MIT aeronautics professor and airline industry consultant. Contrary to free marketeers' predictions, "Disparities in fares for comparable services provided have increased and in many cases increased substantially," Taneja told a congressional committee.

Free-market theory doesn't apply, Taneja said, because peculiarities of the airline industry inhibit eventual recovery of costs. But in other ways, the industry has shown typical capitalist propensities to overproduction—this time of seats available on airplanes—and resulting crisis.

With deregulation, new upstart, often non-union airlines and expanding medium-sized "national" airlines put pressure on fares. But even more important, the majors cut each others' throats with discounting and promotional fares. That served some fliers well, but airlines—also battered by the recession—started losing money and began putting pressure on their employees.

The small, non-union lines (not counting non-union Delta, which matches or surpasses union scale) account for less than 10 percent of passenger miles. But the major lines envy their lower labor costs, 19 to 27 percent of total costs compared with 34 to 37 percent at the majors

like Eastern (number three in sales among U.S. airlines).

The many hundreds of millions of dollars granted in concessions by employees over the past several years have simply been consumed in price wars that have not restored profitability (industry losses topped half a billion dollars in the first half of the year) or resulted in a rational air transport system.

A gamble that failed.

Borman's biggest gamble—and mistake—was rapidly borrowing to expand his fleet, usually with jumbo jets Eastern could not consistently fill. In 1977 Eastern's debt was \$113 million; now it is just under \$2 billion. The ratio of debt to equity has risen to six-to-one, far above the one-to-one ratio considered reasonable in the industry. Eastern's interest payments consequently have risen by 300 percent, from \$80 million to \$240 million later this year. Union members wondered why Borman was buying all these planes when he was always poormouthing them.

The answer emerged after Marty Urria, president of Local 702 that represents half of Eastern's machinists, undertook his own research and called in outside experts to investigate company pension funds. He discovered that Eastern had drastically distorted the amount of money that was being contributed to Machinist pension funds. Since company estimates of pension costs affected union demands for wages and other benefits, the union felt it had been robbed. The union began escalating demands for financial information and for control.

When negotiations over continuation of the "variable earnings program" began last year, the union called in Michael Locker and Steven Abrecht, researchers for Corporate Data Exchange. They responded to Borman's repeated unfavorable comparisons of Eastern workers with their non-union competitors at Delta. By several standards, Eastern workers were more productive. Furthermore, they concluded, Eastern would have made \$80 million in profits last year instead of losing \$87 million if it had Delta's level of debt. "Eastern is a tight, lean company, except for the debt," Abrecht said.

So why did Borman put the company so deeply in hock, buying 77 new airplanes between 1978 and 1981? Some observers attribute the decision to the adventurous determination of astronaut Borman. Others say Borman was lured by tremendous discounts from Boeing. In any case, the purchases would have paid off better if fuel prices had continued to rise instead of slipping slightly. Locker

Continued on page 10

Bankruptcy and union busting

When Frank Lorenzo declared his Continental Airlines bankrupt, then broke his union contracts, fired two-thirds of his employees and put the remainder on half pay and sped-up work schedules, it was simply the most blatant example of a tactic more employers are now testing—and one that unions hope to nip in the bud.

Continental pilots joined machinists already on strike, making it increasingly difficult for Lorenzo to keep even his skeleton schedule going. The pilots were doubly angry. The bankruptcy was a "subterfuge, a sham only to invalidate employee work agreements," they said, since the company's assets reportedly exceeded liabilities and it had substantial cash on hand. Furthermore, Continental pilots had already granted concessions of \$100 million, roughly what Lorenzo paid for the company.

The Manville Corporation had tested bankruptcy earlier this year as a means of escaping liabilities for asbestosis, and Wilson Foods used it to cut wages in half for its meatpacking employees. But the threat or reality of bankruptcy has been employed in various ways to break union contracts from New York City and the San Jose board of education to a multitude of trucking

firms and Chrysler. The new trend is toward not even making a pretense of bargaining or respecting the union.

Last week the Supreme Court heard arguments in the case of Bildisco, a New Jersey building supply firm that filed for bankruptcy to reorganize under Chapter 11 provisions. The company unilaterally refused to meet contractual requirements for pension and welfare payments, vacation pay and raises. The bankruptcy judge upheld their right to reject the contract, even though the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) ruled that the company engaged in an unfair labor practice.

Two issues were raised in the Bildisco case: can a business unilaterally break a labor contract if it declares bankruptcy? In addition, under what conditions can the court reject the contract? Some courts have held that the contract can be rejected only if it is the final stumbling block to successful reorganization, but in several recent cases the courts have adopted a softer standard that calls for "balancing equities." This leads to labor contracts being treated more like any commercial contract.

At the recent AFL-CIO convention, union leaders denounced the new use of bankruptcy laws, and during the same week Rep. William Clay (D-Mo.), chairman of the House Labor-Management Relations Committee, and George Miller (D-Calif.), chairman of the Labor Standards Committee, argued that the recent court rulings were a clear viola-

tion of the intent of Congress.

With the National Labor Relations Act and the Railway Labor Act (which also covers airlines), Congress gave its support to collective bargaining. Consequently, labor contracts "arise out of federal law and are not like commercial contracts," Labor-Management counsel Fred Feinstein said. Some unions insist that under no conditions can collective bargaining contracts be broken by a bankruptcy court, while others argue for applying the most stringent standards.

In the most radically capitalist view, labor is, of course, simply another commodity and contracts governing it are like any other. But the contrary view that labor and labor contracts are something entirely different and deserving special protection is embodied in much reform legislation and is important for the legal basis of the labor movement.

"These decisions make a mockery of collective bargaining," Feinstein said. "They give management a loaded gun and the union an empty gun. Once a union signs a contract, if the union violates it, it is subject to monetary fines and imprisonment. Here management, with the stroke of a pen, can abrogate a contract."

If the Supreme Court rules against the unions in the Bildisco case, one of the top labor legislative priorities will undoubtedly be new legislation restricting the use of the bankruptcy gun.

—D.M.

By Tariq Ali

L O N D O N

FOR DEFENDERS OF PAKISTAN'S military regime, six years of surface calm have served as evidence that citizens accept the dictatorship of General Zia-ul-Haq. But that mythology has been shattered in the streets of Sind, where for almost two months the army has been unable to contain a massive popular rebellion.

At least 200 people have been killed, thousands wounded and several thousand arrested. The regime's complacency was highlighted last May when Gen. Zia toured the Sind province and then announced to a bewildered public, "The people of Sind want martial law for another six years." But the recent wave of riots and general strikes has been an effective rejoinder to Zia's self-deception.

Sind has been restive since former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali, a Sind native, was hanged by the army in 1979. Many Sindhis felt that he was being punished because he belonged to a minority nationality and that he would never have been hanged if he had been a Punjabi junker. The army acknowledged the gravity of the situation by stationing six of its 20 divisions in Sind. Given the fact that the armed forces contain very few Sindhis and that the Sind regiment is composed almost exclusively of non-Sindhis, the occupation of the province by the army was perceived by the inhabitants as a colonial-style imposition.

There can be little doubt that arrogant Punjabi military officers violated Sindhi national rights. There were countless episodes in the province's rural interior in which women were raped and men flogged for protesting. Three political activists were hanged in public two years ago. It would have been surprising if this treatment had not led to a resurgence of Sindhi nationalism.

Many walls in Sindhi villages bear the inscription of *Sindhu Desh* (a dual reference to Bangladesh and an independent Sind). The fact that the movement against the army has so far been confined to Sind and Baluchistan is hardly likely to dampen the nationalist fervor that grips the province.

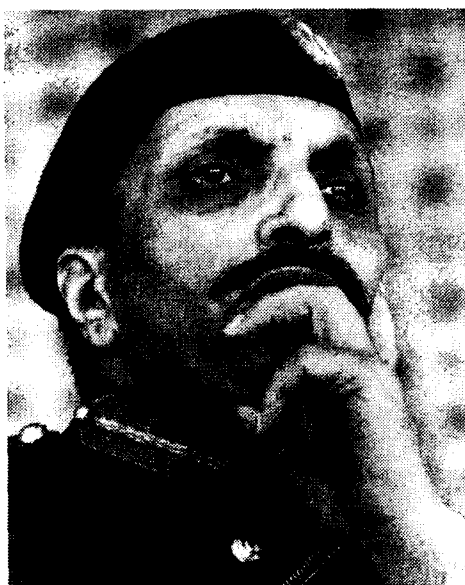
Deformed state.

Pakistan was deformed at birth. Its founding father, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, had hoped that it would become a modernized, secular-democratic republic. In his naivete he even believed that Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan would not migrate to India and that he might even be able to spend a few months every year in his favorite Indian city, Bombay.

This was not to be. Independence Day in August 1947 was marred by the death of millions journeying across religious frontiers.

Since 1947 Pakistan has essentially been governed by two institutions—the army and the civil service—both of them a legacy bequeathed by almost two centuries of colonial rule. Unlike the Congress Party in India, the new state of Pakistan lacked a stable political party and was extremely underindustrialized. State-financed corporations promoted limited industrial development and aided in the birth of a new class of entrepreneurs. But this test-tube capitalism was too weak to

Every time the Pakistanis have been offered a choice, they have voted for whoever offered "food, clothing, shelter" for all.



the landlords remained strong in large parts of the country.

Bhutto's fatal mistake, however, lay in his contemptuous refusal to recognize that post-1971 Pakistan was not cohesive, but a patchwork of four nationalities. The Punjab (the Pakistani equivalent of Prussia) was politically, economically and militarily dominant. Eight percent of the officer corps and soldiers were recruited from this province, thus establishing continuity with the old traditions of the British *raj*. Bhutto himself was a landlord from the minority province of Sind, but he sought to show the Punjabi generals that he was just as capable of crushing attempts by national minorities to assert their democratic rights.

Meanwhile, the population of Baluchistan province, which shared a large bor-

der with Iran and Afghanistan, had elected the left-wing National Awami Party to power.

But the strategy appears to have its weaknesses. The week of September 7-14, 15 more people lost their lives. There are now several reports that Sindhi police refused to fire on their compatriots and, instead, joined the demonstrations. The first policeman to be killed was a non-Sindhi, downed by a bullet fired by a Sindhi cop who had joined the marchers in the small town of Dadu. A number of Sindhi civil servants are refusing active duty and the commissioner of Hyderabad has resigned his post to protest the killings. The protesters have immobilized six railway stations, attacked banks and

mass mobilizations in the streets, and he utilized a hierarchy of competing intelligence agencies to prevent the overflowing of mass discontent into the towns and villages.

Political eruptions in the province of Sind have weakened the military rule of Gen. Zia-ul-Haq. (above).

IN THE WORLD



PAKISTAN

Rebellion signals Zia's dictatorship is on the rocks

engage in politics. Its existence was dependent on the patronage of civil servants who administered large funds and issued licenses for imports and exports.

From 1947 to 1958 the country was run by politicians in name only. Behind the scenes civil service intrigue determined which landlord-politician was prime minister.

But this game of musical chairs was brought to an end by the country's first *coup d'etat* in 1958. By the end of the decade, 22 families controlled the entire economy and the army ruled in an alliance with the civil service.

A massive rebellion from below overthrew the military regime in 1968-69. The resulting elections symbolized the phenomenal disparities in the standard of living. East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) contained a majority of the country's population, yet faced discrimination on every level. The 1970 general elections gave the Bengali Awami League an overall majority, but the army refused to recognize the verdict and embarked on a murderous civil war. The two wings of the country were separated by 1,000 miles of Indian territory and theology proved to be a weak link. The country disintegrated.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto came to power in a truncated and moth-eaten Pakistan, determined to end military rule forever. His brand of populism excited mass fervor, but Bhutto failed to deliver the goods. His inability to push through far-reaching land reforms meant that the grip of

der with Iran and Afghanistan, had elected the left-wing National Awami Party to power.

Bhutto tolerated their government for a short period. Then, under pressure from the Shah of Iran he dismissed the elected leaders of the province. The Baluch resisted, guns in hand. A five-year civil war ensued. The army won, and in doing so reasserted itself as a political force in the country for the first time since the debacle of 1971.

A few months after the crushing of the Baluch insurgents, the army high command overthrew the Bhutto regime and established an iron dictatorship. Bhutto was hanged after a protracted trial, which was universally denounced as a judicial fraud.

Zia's strategy.

Gen. Zia-ul-Haq has ruled the country since July 1977 by a combination of coercion, Machiavellian manipulation of the country's political parties and the traditional and time-honored method of lavish and extensive patronage (i.e., bribery). The central aim of his administration was to extinguish political life in the country.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan aided him because Western aid was resumed and the State Department in Washington combined with the Foreign Office in London to bolster and defend the Pakistani dictatorship. Zia knew that his predecessors had been removed via

burned down telephone exchanges. The effectiveness of the Sindhi students was acknowledged by the military rulers when they closed down the Agricultural University at Tando Jam on an indefinite basis. At this writing, there are reports that the Sindhi towns of Khairpur, Hyderabad, Tando Jam, Larkana, Saja-wal, Nawabshah, Pano Aqil, Sukkur, Dadu and Badin have become virtual no-go areas for the administration.

The veil of fear imposed on the country by military rule has now been lifted by the eruption of Sind—marking the beginning of a new period that will end with the dictatorship's fall. The present regime probably has little more than a year to withdraw voluntarily before it is overthrown, and if the continued resistance in Sind arouses the dispossessed in the Punjab and the crucial North West Frontier Province on the Afghan border, Zia will fall overnight. The temperature certainly is rising in other parts of Pakistan and even a small provocation could spark a nationwide upheaval.

Bhutto stated in his last will and testament that he had been overthrown by the CIA, which wanted the army to exercise direct control. At the time, many tended to dismiss this as characteristically exaggerated rhetoric on the part of an overthrown politician. But new information indicates that Bhutto might not have been so wrong. The generals have virtually mortgaged the country to the U.S. Baluch nationalists have accused the regime of "internationalizing" domestic conflicts by inviting American military personnel into the country.

Ataullah Mengal, a former chief minister of Baluchistan now in exile in London, told this reporter a few weeks ago that the tiny islet of Mehdi-Ye-Koh, off the sleepy port of Gwadar, had become a giant radar base. Mengal insists that no civilian officials, even the most senior ones, are allowed to enter the area. Within the restricted zone there is another prohibited area where only top Pakistani of-

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WEST GERMANY

DGB Für eine Welt
Friedenspolitische

Labor panel at the international Peace Policy Conference.

Labor signs on with peace movement

By Diana Johnstone

COLOGNE

THE WEST GERMAN LABOR movement is slowly but massively throwing its weight into the movement against the Euromissiles, and the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) is getting ready to follow the German lead.

On October 5, people throughout West Germany answered a call from the eight million member German trade union confederation DGB to stop work for five minutes at 11:55 a.m.—“five minutes before 12”—as a warning that time is running out for the Geneva negotiations to stop nuclear missile deployment in Germany and four other NATO countries.

DBG chairman Ernst Breit said German working people were tired of hearing the Soviets and Americans blame each other for lack of success in the talks. Germans demanded results, he said: “At the end of the negotiations, there should be not *more* but *fewer* medium range missiles in Europe.”

Breit said he had yet to hear any credible reason why British and French missiles should not be counted in the European balance. He also stressed that while the Soviet Union had originally exaggerated its own defense needs by building so many SS-20s, it had since implicitly acknowledged going too far by offering to reduce their number.

The clear implication of the DGB leader's remarks was that the U.S. should accept Soviet Premier Yuri Andropov's offer to cut back Soviet medium-range nuclear warheads so that they equal the number of British and French warheads aimed at Soviet targets.

Breit said the doctrine of deterrence had failed to create a peaceful world. People were demanding something better from their politicians than a policy of threats leading to an endless arms race. The fact that people in the West were free to express this demand was a sign of the strength—not weakness—of the West, Breit said.

Breit spoke at a two-day international Peace Policy Conference held by the DGB in Cologne October 4-5 that illustrated how very far the German peace

movement has come. To get a slight idea of the event, imagine the top leaders of the AFL-CIO inviting David Dellinger and Caspar Weinberger to their panel discussion of peace policy. Then imagine all the unionists agreeing with Dellinger, and firing hostile questions at Weinberger showing up his over-simplifications and distortions of history and nuclear strategy. Bonn's Defense Minister Manfred Worner was unable to impress his audience with NATO's plans to scrap tactical nuclear weapons—an aspect of the “build down, build up” policy currently enchanting Capitol Hill.

This is not because Worner is less persuasive than Weinberger, but because the Germans at the conference all knew that removal of tactical nuclear weapons and introduction of Pershing II and Cruise missiles were simply parts of the same modernization designed to shift NATO to a more offensive posture. The German defense minister had to listen to quotes from former U.S. SALT negotiator Paul Warnke and defense secretary Harold Brown that denied the SS-20 was a new threat, and sit through lessons in “Air land battle,” “decapitation,” “horizontal escalation” and other fine points of American strategic doctrine.

Finally, all Worner could say was that “thanks to the Americans we can have this discussion” and that “the moment the Americans withdraw, we are lost.” The German defense minister appeared not at all afraid of nuclear war, only a little afraid of the SS-20s, yet very much afraid of being abandoned by the Americans—and there lies the real motive of pro-missile European NATO leaders. It was Worner who fell back on emotional argument—fear of losing the American security blanket—in the face of the more rational, documented and morally courageous arguments of the nuclear disarmament advocates.

His fellow panelist Volkmar Deile, a Protestant pastor and director of the Action Reconciliation Peace Service (ASF), pointed out that “the peace movement has democratized defense policy.” This is an enormous achievement that has taken a great deal of hard work and the conjunction of two phenomena: a growing mass movement and the existence of half a dozen Peace Research Institutes ready to supply activists with thorough docu-

mentation and analysis on all aspects of the nuclear weapons issue. The published literature on the subject is now vast, and has obviously been read and digested by an impressive number of people.

For many, of course, the simple observation that “there are enough nuclear weapons already to destroy the world several times” is argument enough. But to bring around a major social institution like the DGB, the serious intellectual work of the Peace Research Institute is crucial. This showed up most strongly in the conference forums. In forum one, Count von Baudissin, a retired general who heads the Hamburg University Peace Research Institute, chaired the discussion on “peace, detente and cooperation.” Social Democratic Party (SPD) policymaker Egon Bahr argued that the concept of mutual security must eventually replace the deterrence doctrine. This point was made strongly by former Dutch Premier Joop den Uyl in his keynote speech to the conference.

Forum two related peace to Third World development. Forum three on “peace and human rights” was attended by representatives of Polish Solidarnosc and the South African mine workers. They were meeting when word came that Lech Walesa was being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

Forum four discussed the relationship between arms spending and the current dismantling of the welfare state in favor of the national security state, which is one of the unions' main concerns. The DGB has not fallen for the arms lobby claim that military production provides jobs. German unionists are familiar with studies showing that arms investment creates fewer jobs than other kinds of investment, while the goods produced contribute neither to consumption nor to the investment cycle. But the need is felt for persuasive conversion plans for those workers already employed in arms manufacture.

In its fear that the Americans will get mad and go home, the conservative government of Chancellor Helmut Kohl has cut off federal funding as of next year to Peace Research Institute, but funding for peace research will still be available free from states with SPD governments and from private foundations. The intellectual strength of the peace researchers and the moral strength of the churches both pose problems to the government in its efforts to marginalize the peace movement.

Ahead of its time.

An opening panel discussion among European trade union leaders showed that the DGB was ahead of most of its European counterparts on the nuclear arms

issue. The one who seemed most eager to follow the German lead was Luciano Lama, general secretary of the Italian general confederation of labor CGIL, who feared that “this greatest of causes, the cause of peace, risks losing unless working people take part in the struggle.” But German peace movement representatives at the conference were shocked by Lama's suggestion that the unions should take over the peace movements “to give them rational objectives.” Peace activists already consider the entrance of organized labor into the peace movement a mixed blessing, since although the DGB can bring the masses of working people, it comes equipped with its own male-dominated bureaucratic structure.

All union leaders agreed that there were “no good or bad missiles,” and all voiced their opposition against both American and Soviet missiles. But there was a latent line of division: it did not separate the Italian Communist, Lama, from the others, but rather, divided the countries that possess their own nuclear weapons from those that do not.

Dutch Labor Party leader Joop den Uyl, who is also chairman of the Social Democratic Parties union in the European Economic Community (EEC), put his finger on the key bone of contention when he pointed to French and British ambitions to enlarge their arsenals as the source of a new arms race. Den Uyl, Breit, Lama and the Belgian president of the European Trade Union Confederation, George Debunne, all agreed that Europe should not complicate matters further by trying to be a third nuclear power. Den Uyl said that if the British and French unions really want the Geneva negotiations to succeed, they must join in the demand that British and French missiles be counted in the tally.

The British trade union representative, F. Jarvis, evaded the question with a long defensive tirade about how great the British labor movement was—except for its Trotskyists. Jacques Chereque of the French Democratic Labor Confederation (CFDT) complained about the Communist Party in his country. He would not come out in favor of counting French missiles at Geneva.

Only a few days before, the CFDT had joined the French Committee for Nuclear Disarmament (CODENE) on the basis of a wishy-washy joint statement. The CFDT was the prize CODENE has been fishing for since it was founded as an alternative to the French Communist Party's peace movement.

The CFDT values its European contacts, and it seems quite likely that it was nudged by the ETUC and the DGB toward CODENE. Considering the anti-pacifist mood being created in France—including in the Socialist Party—even this baby step meant going against the current.

Chereque recognized that the position

Peace Research Institutes supply activists with crucial data.

taken by the CFDT was only a starter that did not respond to the whole problem. But he gets his information from French newspapers and therefore is misinformed on both the strategic arms debate and on the peace movement.

This showed up when the Frenchman said that the German peace movement had “made things hard for us when you came up with your slogan ‘better red than dead.’” That was a little as if someone came to France and said, “The trouble with you Frenchmen is you do nothing but eat frogs and go to the Folies Bergere.”

To some German ears, Chereque's remark sounded like an insult, but it was surely only unavoidable ignorance. There are no independent peace research institutes in France to educate the French labor movement.



With inflation running at 500-1000 percent, financial panic is common. Here depositors line up outside a bank after the government put controls on foreign currency.

ARGENTINA

New leaders, harsh problems

By Marc Cooper

BUENOS AIRES

THE LATEST ISSUE OF AN OPPOSITION satire magazine here named *Humor* laments: "Argentina was built in 170 years but destroyed in only seven." And although on October 30 this country's voters have the chance to elect a civilian government for the first time since the military seized power in 1976, problems remain that cloud Argentina's future.

The military is being forced to retreat to its barracks not only because of defeat in the Falkland Islands but also because of the battles it has lost at home. Yet many military members are not ready to concede domestic defeat in the political and economic arenas.

"The military dictatorship is leaving behind it quite a legacy," says one Peronist politician. "After seven years in power, all they leave us is coffee that costs a million pesos a cup and a country full of grieving relatives looking for disappeared sons, daughters and parents."

When the new civilian government takes power, it will inherit a devastated economy as well as the explosive issue of what to do about an estimated 30,000 people who have disappeared for political reasons since the 1976 coup.

What the outgoing military government fears most is an Argentine version of Nuremberg. On September 22, in an unprecedented move, the military government decreed a self-amnesty that pardons all security agents, police and soldiers for any illegal acts committed since 1973 while they carried out what has been called "the dirty war against subversion." Cynically termed "the Law of National Pacification," the measure was decreed a day after 15,000 people staged a 24-hour vigil and march calling for punishment of those responsible for the reign of terror that marked the military rule.

The self-amnesty has brought a wave of protests from political groups across the board, including the two major par-

ties, the Peronists and the Radicals. Nobel prize winner Adolfo Perez Esquivel, director of the Peace and Justice Service here, says the measure is "immoral." "The government has given no explanation of where the disappeared are," he says. "If they are dead, then we are faced with a Nazi-like genocide that would call for a trial of crimes against humanity."

Perez Esquivel also underlines the political volatility of the human rights problem. "No political party can accept this. If they do, they will become complicit with the crimes of the dictatorship," he

warns.

With public opinion running feverishly high against the military (the daily newspaper *Clarín* says the army conducted its own opinion poll showing 94 percent of the respondents opposed the current government), both the Peronists and the Radicals have vowed to immediately strike down the self-amnesty after the elections.

But many human rights and grassroots political activists are skeptical. They say any new civilian government will have to tread lightly around the military, unless it

squads began operating under her government, eventually killing thousands of trade unionists, socialists and left Peronists. All this occurred more than a year before the military formally seized power.

Peronism today retains its tough nationalist language, often tinged with anti-imperialism. But it is still caught between a right wing—often fascist—that is based in the labor bureaucracy, and a left wing—often socialist—coming out of the student movement. The only attitude both factions have in common is their reverence for a leader who has been dead for nearly a decade.

The political program put forward by the Peronists speaks of a "third way" that will rely on neither the Soviet Union nor the U.S. "Liberation of Dependency" is the common Peronist formula for outlining the basic choices faced by the country, thereby avoiding a full debate on capitalist and non-capitalist models of development.

A Peronist government is expected to join the non-aligned movement, take a tough anti-U.S. stand on hemispheric issues, grant the Peronist trade union bureaucracy a series of privileges, guarantee a certain amount of expanded social security, while at the same time maintaining good relations with the IMF in order to continue refinancing the huge foreign debt. In short, this populist government would not likely alter Argentina's traditional model of

desires to be overthrown. "The big question now is not whether there will be elections," says a rank-and-file Peronist leader, "but rather, how long will the new government last? With this self-amnesty, the military blackmail has already begun."

Herba Pastora Bonafini, president of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo (mothers of the disappeared), agrees that little hope can be invested in the political parties. "The new government will not have much power. It will be at least indirectly conditioned by the military."

But Bonafini says her group, which is allied with seven other human rights organizations, will escalate their campaign to punish the guilty.

The mothers' movement, which began with small, isolated events, has snowballed into a large movement with mass sup-

Continued on page 22

Right, left in Peronist Party

The man most likely to be elected president of Argentina on October 30 is a 66-year-old lawyer named Italo Luder. Most observers agree that his Justicialist (Peronist) Party will win by a narrow margin over the rival Radical Party, led by veteran centrist politician Raul Alfonsín.

Luder was chosen as the Peronists' compromise candidate last spring in a stormy convention at which diverse factions within the movement went for each other's throats. The Peronists suffered an internal power vacuum after their historic leader, Juan Peron, died in 1974 and dropped the official mantle of leadership into the hands of his widow, Maria Estela (Isabel) Martinez. She took over the presidency of Argentina at the time of her husband's death, only to be displaced by the military less than two years later.

The government of Juan Peron, which was seated in 1973 and came on the heels of a seven-year military rule, was initially a shaky coalition of the left and right currents that make up the byzantine world of Peronism. But the rightist faction slowly began to dominate, reaching its zenith under the rule of Isabel Peron. The notorious death

development.

The rival Radical Party is almost a classic liberal constitutional grouping, but one that is colored by populism. In spite of some leftist rhetoric, its economic and political program differs little from that of any other centrist party in Latin America. This has led the militant Peronist Youth to raise the electoral slogan of "Luder or Coca-Cola," referring to the Radical's pronounced pro-Washington posture.

But Argentine politics are so ambiguous that among the Radicals there is a small, but genuine, socialist current. The irony of Argentina is that left Peronists and left Radicals have much more in common with one another than with the others in their parties. One left Peronist student leader, recognizing this false division, says, "What Argentina really needs is a full-scale political realignment that will bring all of the progressive forces together in a new National Liberation Front that would probably win 70 percent of the vote."

One small step along that road has already been taken. The Argentine Communist Party, whose traditional anti-Peronism led them to support the military government, has for the first time declared its electoral support for the Peronist presidential candidate. Several smaller left groups have also decided to throw their support to the Peronists in an attempt to build the coalition that has forever eluded Argentina. —M.C.

Talks

Continued from page 3

a significant stumbling block to negotiations.

In SALT II, the U.S. had conceded Soviet superiority in ICBMs, while the Soviet Union conceded American superiority in bombers and Cruise missiles. In the START negotiations, the Reagan administration had initially insisted on cutting ICBMs but ignoring bombers, while the Soviet Union had insisted on treating bombers' warheads (which a plane must take hours to deliver) on a par with missiles' warheads.

In a significant political concession, the administration also agreed to appoint former Carter administration Secretary of the Navy James Woolsey, a member of the Scowcroft Commission, as an "at-large delegate" to the Geneva Arms Talks.

The new Reagan proposal reflects an arms control strategy paper drafted by Aspin this past summer. He proposed principles that he believed would break the domestic arms control deadlock between conservatives and liberals, while also offering some concessions to Soviet concerns. Aspin's proposals were intended to achieve "survivable forces for both sides, with no significant unilateral advantages and minimal [ideally no] advantages from striking first."

Aspin rejected both the Reagan START strategy, which called upon the Soviet Union to dismantle its ICBMs with no significant concession on the American side, and the liberal insistence that the superior "throw-weight" of the Soviet ICBMs poses no significant threat to nuclear stability. He granted the conservative concerns about throw-weight.

Aspin pointed out that in the past the superior throw-weight of Soviet missiles made up for the superior accuracy of American missiles. A more powerful weapon could threaten a hard-based mis-

sile silo or, eventually, even a submarine without scoring a direct hit. With the Soviet Union having achieved comparable accuracy in their missiles, the threat was even greater.

But Aspin proposed that "gradual evolution toward rough throw-weight equality," rather than immediate equality, be the basis for the administration's arms control proposal. He also proposed that some unit of destructive capacity be agreed to by which air-launched and ground-launched warheads could be compared and that a version of build-down be adopted by which both countries' warheads could be reduced.

Aspin's domestic political strategy has been as complex as his arms control negotiating strategy. This past spring Aspin and two other former opponents of the MX missile, Tennessee Rep. Albert Gore and Washington Rep. Norman Dix, agreed to back the administration's request for the production of 100 10-warhead MX missiles in exchange for administration support for the recommendations of the Scowcroft Commission. These included plans for the Midgetman and for a revised posture at the START talks.

This August Aspin, Gore and Dix met with Senators Cohen, Nunn and Charles Percy to work out a negotiating proposal for the administration at the START talks scheduled to recommence October 6.

In September, the "Gang of Six," as they were called, gained the support of presidential advisor William Clark to press the new proposal on the president, and at a meeting that included Scowcroft, won the president's agreement.

According to Gore, the president agreed to the new proposal over the objections of both Rowny and Arms Control and Disarmament Agency head Kenneth Adelman. Cohen reported that Rowny had opposed the new plan because, "as a negotiation, he preferred to stay with what he had without introducing new elements."

Aspin argues that even with the opposition of the president's key arms contr-

lobbyists, the proposal could result in a Soviet-American arms accord. Aspin believes that the MX is an important bargaining chip with both the Soviet Union and the administration.

American plans to build the MX provide some incentive for the Soviet Union to agree to a plan that would force them eventually to reduce their MIRVed ICBMs. And the Democratic House will be able to keep the administration honest in its negotiations by threatening to cancel the MX funds when they bi-annually come up for a vote.

Aspin believes that the president wants an arms control agreement to help his election chances in 1984. "Ronald Reagan has a perfect batting average in arms control—.000," Aspin's aide Nelson said. "We're not suggesting he's had a conversion. But he's a political animal."

Most arms control advocates agree that the president's willingness to include bombers in the negotiations was a positive step. And most acknowledge, along with Democratic Rep. Paul Simon, that build-down is "better than nothing." But there are fears that the entire package will result in the MX but not arms control.

According to former State Department and CIA official Arthur Macy Cox, the author of *Russian Roulette*, build-down has a "fatal flaw." "It is lacking in any understanding of nuclear reality," Cox asserts. "It bows to the crazy decision to go ahead with the MX, which is totally inconsistent with everything about it. If you believed in stability, you wouldn't go ahead with such a deal."

Even the build-down supporters like Cohen and Gore acknowledge that with Pershing II and Cruise deployment on the agenda, the Soviet Union is unlikely to agree to any American START proposal. Cox and other arms control advocates fear that the Soviet refusal will then be used as a further justification for proceeding with the MX. "Unless the Russians grab its [positive] aspects and move ahead aggressively, the MX will be funded and we will be on a much more destabilizing course," Cox says. ■

Airlines

Continued from page 6

and Abrecht's research suggests another explanation.

Eastern's board of directors and all of its major committees were dominated by directors with banking connections, especially to Chase Manhattan, Eastern's lead bank along with Citibank. Circumstances suggest these bankers were happy to divert company income into bank interest and away from shareholders—who had received no dividends since 1969—and from workers—who were being fleeced with VEP while Eastern overexpanded.

Yet it also turned out that both Eastern and Boeing Corp. had the same two lead lender banks and that 12 of Boeing's top 18 lenders also had loaned large sums to Eastern. Boeing was in bad shape because recession and an oversupply of used planes dampened demand for its new 757, which was supposed to save it. The bankers obviously were desperate to prevent Boeing from defaulting on its debt to them. So even though travel was down and interest rates were up, Borman expanded his orders for Boeing aircraft.

"It was imperative for Boeing and its lenders to have the 757 program become a financial success," concluded Andrew R. Banks, assistant director of the Center for Labor Research at Florida International University and an advisor to the Machinists, even if it endangered Eastern.

With the threat of a strike behind him, Bryan forced the company to change VEP into a limited, voluntary program of employee loans that would be paid back at 10 percent interest. Then in the final round of contract talks in the spring of this year, the Machinists demanded greater union access to company books through Locker and Abrecht. They found that Eastern had told its lenders that it could expect a substantial profit this year. Eventually the union won a 21

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percent substantial pay increase that brings them up to industry standards and a variety of non-monetary gains—including equal control over future worker participation plans and joint administration of the union pension fund by management and the union.

Eastern's pilots, who had just conceded a 17 percent pay cut, were chagrined, but the 63,000 flight attendants—represented by the Transport Workers—were emboldened. Their contract expired in March 1982, but they continued fighting Borman over the rights of their members to fly on the lucrative overseas routes Eastern acquired from bankrupt Braniff as their strike deadline was delayed by 19 months. Also, Borman wanted work rule changes that the union estimates would eliminate 1,800 jobs.

Despite the settlement with the Machinists, Borman did not stop his threats and demands for worker concessions over the summer. Then, on September 15, shortly after Continental declared bankruptcy, Borman told the unions that if Eastern's workers did not give up 15 percent of their pay now, 5 percent more in January and take a 20 percent cut in vacation time, Eastern would be forced into bankruptcy by October 13—the day the flight attendants were scheduled to strike if a settlement wasn't reached. Curiously, just two days earlier a vice-president of Merrill Lynch, the firm with principal authority for issuing Eastern stock and bonds, had published a very favorable report on Eastern's prospects for 1984 through 1986. Who was to be believed?

Bankruptcy threats.

Although Eastern had a bad August and September, Abrecht believed that the company had no cash problems—none until Borman threatened bankruptcy, that is, when ticket orders were cancelled and the union estimated the company was losing \$3 to \$6 million a day. Borman's numerous public threats of disruption over the past 14 months, all intended to intimidate workers, have cost the com-

pany a total of \$190 million, according to the union. (By comparison the pay cuts he demanded would have produced \$350 million through 1984.)

Recognizing his own credibility problems, Borman's unconvincing "mediator," William Usery, announced that an independent audit would be made by investment bankers Lazard Freres. But Lazard was hardly "independent." It had a long history of ties to Eastern management—underwriting stock offering, introducing the VEP, arranging loans and financing. Lazard general partner, Felix Rohatyn, was also on Eastern's board of directors from 1977 to 1980.

So the union demanded that Locker and Abrecht be retained along with Lazard to complete the audit, that the company agree to settle the flight attendant contract and that Borman withdraw the threat of bankruptcy—and Borman agreed on October 7. The findings of the study—far more extensive than anything previously available to the union—will be the basis for negotiations.

But Borman also launched a public-relations blitz (aided by a new flack who once was the Army's p.r. man in Saigon) aimed at undermining the unions. Pro-company flight attendants were shuttled around the country to organize a petition campaign. Billed as a "right-to-vote" drive, even though workers never lost the right to vote on the result of the bargaining, it was an attempt to panic attendants into supporting Borman's demands and to undermine collective bargaining. Nearly half signed, but later hundreds of flight attendants, realizing they had been duped, staged spontaneous demonstrations in support of their union leadership.

For the first time, the Machinists, Transport Workers (attendants) and Pilots unions have pledged to work together and have formed a Joint Union Coordinating Council. Each union will also have a researcher on the Locker/Abrecht team.

Meanwhile at the national level, leaders of the major AFL-CIO airline unions are meeting jointly to formulate propos-

als for re-regulation of the airlines. Although there are major obstacles in Congress, the unions will probably propose standards for fares—for example, setting maximum fares at 30 percent higher per mile than the lowest per mile fare for any carrier—but leave entry and exit of firms unrestrained.

Machinist President William Winpisinger argues that air transport should be regarded as a public utility and regulated as such—with much better regulation than existed before 1978. Public ownership and operation could provide an even more comprehensive, rational air transport system, especially if it were integrated with a revived rail system.

But with cutthroat competition in a glutted market likely to continue, unions will face tough bargaining ahead. TWA is demanding concessions from Machinists now. Later this year Frontier Airlines plans to start up a new non-union national airline as a subsidiary of a holding company it established.

"We're fighting that every place we can," Machinist vice-president John Petterpaul said. Although organizing the new non-union lines will not be difficult, Petterpaul claims, the union has not put a significant effort into organizing yet because of the drain of collective bargaining and other demands on its resources.

Capt. Henry Duffy, president of the Airline Pilots Association, warns that another three or four bankruptcies could be imminent. For the first time, Duffy admitted, pilots are discovering the value of solidarity. (Other airline union leaders could not recall a time when the pilots, who helped break the air controllers strike, respected their picket lines.) If the government shows no sign of acting, the pilots may ask machinists and attendants to join them in a one-day nationwide strike later this year.

While the union researchers are checking Eastern's books, union leaders and

other consultants—such as Banks and pension expert Randy Barber—are thinking about the next stage of bargaining with Borman. The first demand is still to get rid of him and have "a major change of management," Banks says. On the picket line, union steward Cliff Moss said, "I've heard guys say that they'd give them the money interest-free to get him out."

But the union is likely to demand as well a significant voice in future management decisions, well beyond the seat on the board of directors that Bryan has proposed in the past, and continued access to corporate financial documents. Also, if the union makes any concession to management, it is likely to insist on parallel concessions from banks and creditors. In one sense, the union realizes it will be bargaining with the banks, which have made it clear they expect blood from the workers, as much as with Eastern.

"Whatever the unions have to do," Banks says, "they're going to make it so costly for management in non-economic areas that no other employer will be tempted to mimic them."

Having destroyed his own credibility and contributed to the financial plight of overextended Eastern by his hard-headed anti-union ploys, this time taken to the brink of bankruptcy threats, Borman has inadvertently helped to create his worst nightmare—a unified labor movement of pilots, mechanics and flight attendants, fighting against management concession demands and for increased worker control over the corporation. That, ironically, may be Borman's greatest accomplishment.

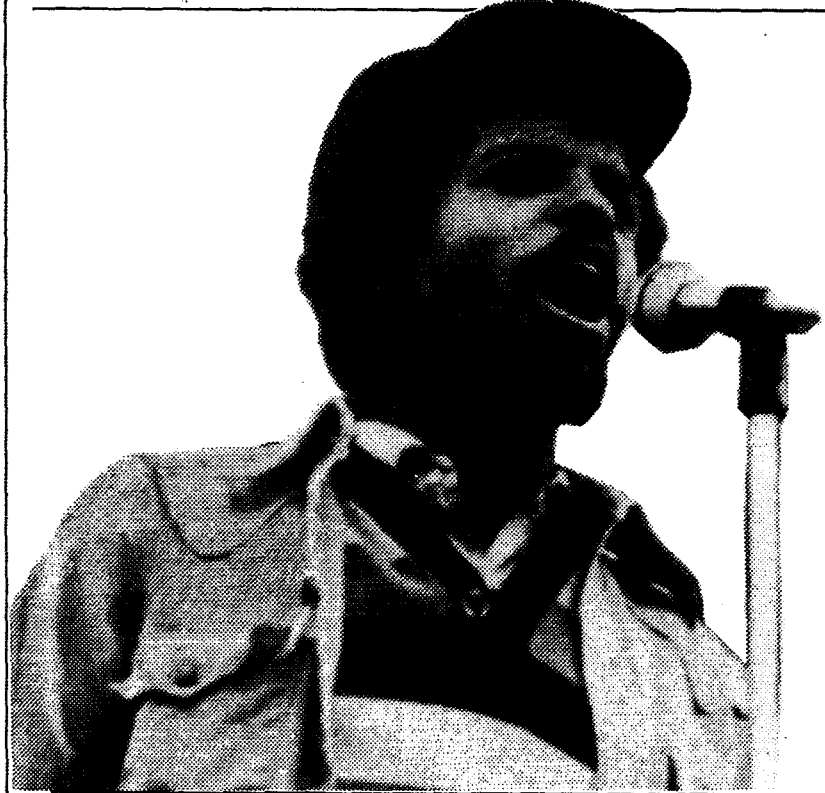
Much of the background for this article comes from articles by Andrew Banks, Randy Barber, Marty Urria, Michael Locker and Steve Abrecht that will appear in the next issue of *Labor Research Review*, available from 4012 Elm, East Chicago, Ind. 46312.

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By Richard Kaye

IT SEEMED THIS PAST SUMMER that there was little else people—gay and straight—wished to discuss in New York, San Francisco, Chicago, Los Angeles and even small, non-urban locales. Virtually every major American magazine has featured a cover story, each claiming its own slant, on the new disease known as AIDS, acquired immunological deficiency syndrome. Major TV networks have devoted specials to AIDS, radio phone-in shows have been dominated by the subject and every political stripe of editorial writer has used AIDS as an excuse to decry government ineptitude, the rise of gay rights, the paranoia of the American public, the hazards of "promiscuity," the susceptibility of the media.

From headlines in the *New York Post* announcing "Long Island Grandma Has AIDS" to newspaper reports of San Francisco restaurant patrons refusing to be served by a waiter they imagined to be homosexual, the message on AIDS in the last few months has been alarmist or ideological. Now that some of the dust has cleared from the subject of this mysterious and deadly ailment, it is worth examining just what the recent appearance of AIDS—as well as the scare it has caused—means for the homosexual community, the gay movement and those who consider themselves friends of—the phrase seems almost quaint these days—gay liberation.

As most people now know, AIDS is the breakdown of the body's immunological defenses and an increased susceptibility to a variety of life-threatening illnesses, particularly a relatively rare form of cancer known as Kaposi's sarcoma. The disease has mostly affected homosexual men, with most researchers putting the figure at 70 percent of the cases, with the remainder of AIDS victims made up of Haitians, intravenous drug users and hemophiliacs, the latter group becoming infected, it is assumed by doctors,



through blood transfusions. There is some evidence to suggest that Haitians may be no more susceptible than other groups, but that because homosexuality is such a serious taboo on Haiti, immigrant Haitians have been reluctant to admit to being homosexual when questioned by medical researchers.

Although doctors and medical investigators are still playing with various theories, there appears to be a medical consensus that AIDS is transmitted through two means only. These are intimate sexual contact and, in fewer cases, blood transfusions or contaminated needles (used by drug users). Panic that AIDS can be transmitted through contaminated food or the sweat from a hand-shake is ungrounded.

Even so, a Gallup poll this past sum-

mer indicated that 21 percent of those polled were less comfortable with their gay friends since the appearance of AIDS. The latest example of AIDS fear overtaking otherwise reasonable people involved a Manhattan physician and leading AIDS researcher who was told this September that the lease on his office would not be renewed. His co-op building's board of overseers were concerned that the building's value would suffer a market depreciation. The decision is being legally challenged.

One could, of course, go on with more horror stories emanating from AIDS fear, and many have, from newscaster Geraldo Rivera's frantic, breathlessly intoned TV special to *California* magazine, which ran a front-cover story several months ago arguing—the pressure on magazine reporters to produce new slants runs perilously high—that the gay community itself was covering up the facts on acquired immunological deficiency syndrome. It was, of course, the gay community itself that had long insisted that AIDS was getting little attention from either the federal government or the major media when the illness first appeared in homosexual men nearly two years ago (remarkably different from the immediate and active response to Legionaire's Disease, which affected a very small group of people, when it first appeared).

"In a sense, the media reaction to AIDS is evidence of the success of the gay movement," says Dennis Altman, author of a number of books on the gay movement, including the recent *The Homosexualization of America*. "For the first time the homosexual community was referred to and dealt with as a particular, organized social group, a category the gay liberation movement has struggled to achieve for decades."

And certainly a key point that becomes lost in *Newsweek* feature stories on how AIDS will "mature" the homosexual community and at last put an end to the "gay party of the '70s" is that it has been the "mature," organized, highly political wing of the homosexual community that is equipped, thanks to many hard-won gains, to deal with the devastating effects of AIDS. In the last decade, largely unnoticed by the popular media, a whole spectrum of gay organizations have grown up to work within the homosexual community in every area from psychological counseling for gay fathers to medical care to placement services for gay teenagers turned out of their homes by hostile parents.

A new gay maturity.

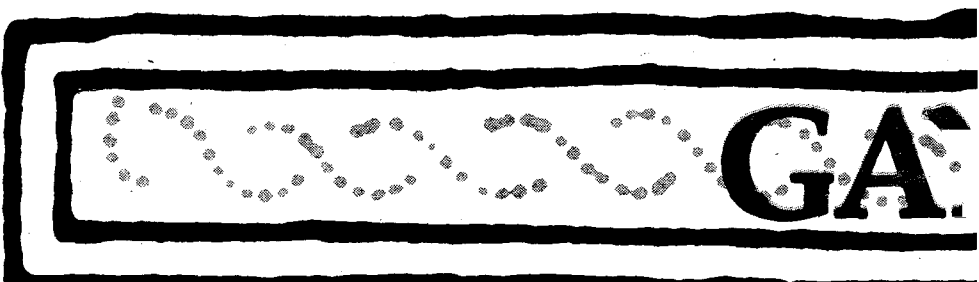
"All this talk about how the gay community has been utterly caught up with hedonistic pleasures is something of a distortion," said one Chicago psychotherapist. "Through the so-called 'party of the '70s' most of the people I know here are working as gay counselors, as gay organizers for gay rights initiatives, in a great variety of roles in the gay community."

"The response by the gay community to AIDS is, as far as I know, one of the most extraordinary responses on the part of a group of people to a serious threat that I can think of. And I mean this if you go back and look through history," insisted Michael Denneny, an editor at St. Martin's Press in New York and a contributing editor to *Christopher Street* magazine.

But however the gay community has been represented or misrepresented by the mainstream media, nearly all gay leaders argue that the appearance of a deadly disease affecting gay men for which there is as yet no cure will have a radical effect on the gay community.

"It has presented the most radical challenge to the homosexual community since the legacy of the Stonewall Riots, which occurred more than 10 years ago," insisted Altman.

"Curiously enough, gay identity, once secured, is now endangered by two perils, one tragic, the other theoretical and possibly benign," wrote the writer Edmund White recently. White is the author of, among other books, *States of Desire: Travels in Gay America*. The theoretical danger he refers to is the right-wing backlash that has come with AIDS, from



groups like Dallas Doctors Against AIDS—working for the criminalization of homosexuality for health reasons—and the Moral Majority, whose newsletter regularly warns that "America's families" are under attack by a hazardous gay lifestyle. But for White and other gay leaders the issue that is at least as important as the reactionary response to AIDS is the question of how the gay community will respond to the medical threat to gay relations that AIDS presents.

For a large number of gay men, sexual promiscuity has been a key means for the expression of gay identity. "Sexual promiscuity," maintains White, "or at least the possibility of sexual adventure, has for a long time now been the essential glue holding the urban gay ghetto together. The bars, the baths, the discos are all

sites for cruising. Whereas lesbians have united over feminist issues—economic, legal and sociological—gay men have had few ideological banners everyone is willing to march under other than the oriflamme of sexual freedom."

The oriflamme of sexual freedom, one of the more permanent holdovers from '60s activism, has not been a banner solely for the homosexual community (women, too, learned the value of shedding some of the more suffocating restraints on individual sexual freedom). But it has been gay men who in the last 10 years have sought sexual libertarianism as a means of dealing with a felt disenfranchisement from mainstream society. A Richard Goldstein pointed out in a recent article in *The Village Voice*, sexual promiscuity has been, for a large number



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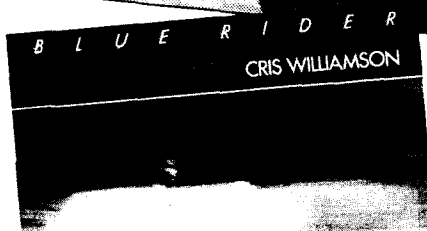
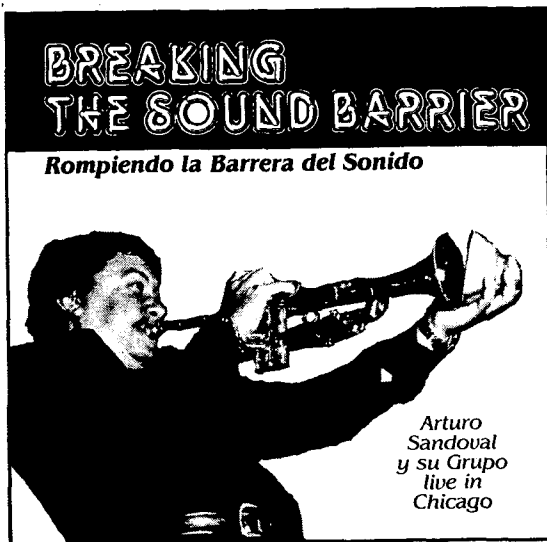
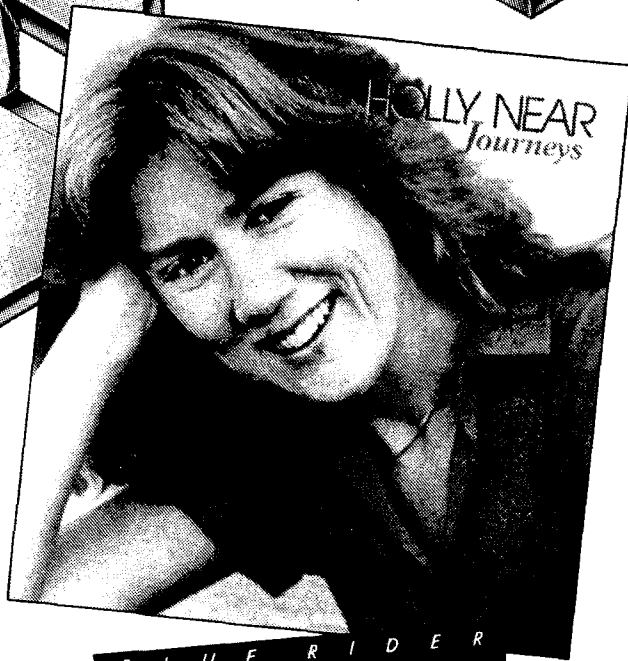
With twelve graphic photographs from around the world, Amnesty International has once again put together an attractive and moving calendar for the coming year. With quotes from such leading individuals as Dr. Martin Luther King, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Archbishop Oscar Romero, this calendar will be an inspiration throughout the year.



Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

IN THESE TIMES

IMAGES OF LAB



RECORDS

BREAKING THE SOUND BARRIER
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Recorded live in Chicago, Cuba's hottest trumpet player brings together Afro-Cuban music with American jazz in this dazzling performance. Former trumpeter of the Cuban group Irakere, Sandoval has performed with jazz great Dizzy Gillespie. This limited edition is not available in stores.

UN SON PARA MI PUEBLO
Grupo Mancotal
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Taking off from salsa, calypso and samba rhythms, Nicaragua's foremost musical group, Grupo Mancotal, creates one of the tightest, most exciting sounds from Central America. Available for the first time in the U.S.

TOGETHER AGAIN
The Weavers
\$9.98

If you missed the historic 1980 reunion of the Weavers at Carnegie Hall, experience it now on the album that captures the music, the excitement and the moment! Not available in stores.

JOURNEYS
Holly Near
\$8.98

This retrospective album captures the spirit of a decade, with 12 favorites from Holly's first six albums—music that celebrates life, love and visions of a better world. A great sampler for those who are new to Holly's music... and fuel for the long distance traveller.

MEG/CRIS AT CARNEGIE HALL
Meg Christian & Cris Williamson
\$13.98

These two noted Olivia Records artists celebrated the company's 10th anniversary of women's music with their historic performance at the famed concert hall. This double-album set is a collector's item.

BLUE RIDER
Cris Williamson
\$8.98

This album is a collection of exciting new music combining striking arrangements, heart to heart lyrics and soul-stirring vocals. This is Cris at her personal best.

BOOKS

VIETNAM: A HISTORY
by Stanley Karnow
\$21.95, hardcover

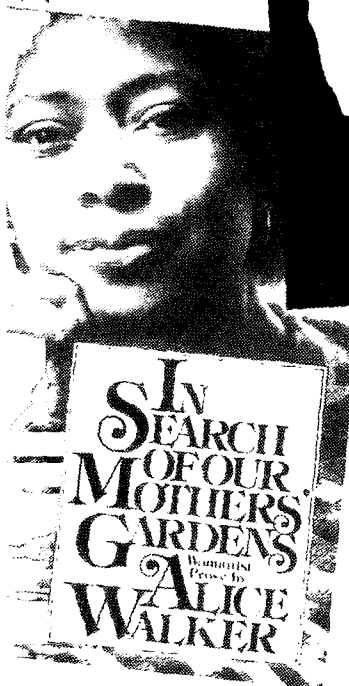
A comprehensive overview of both American involvement and Vietnamese resistance, this book is based largely on exclusive interviews with hundreds of participants on both sides. This volume examines important aspects of Vietnam's heritage and each phase of America's deepening involvement in Southeast Asia, from the late '40s when the U.S. first perceived the fate of Indochina in global terms, through Johnson's escalation, the Tet offensive, Nixon's war in Cambodia and the final withdrawal of troops. This book is published as a companion volume to "Vietnam: A Television History," the documentary series currently playing on PBS.

HOLIDAY

BEST BUYS

**The Corporate
Ideal in the
Liberal State
1900-1918**

by James Weinstein



**SEXUAL
POLITICS,
SEXUAL
COMMUNITIES**

The Making of a
Homosexual Minority
in the United States,
1940-1970

JOHN D'EMILIO

Stanley Karnow

ETNAM

A History
First Complete Account
of Vietnam at War

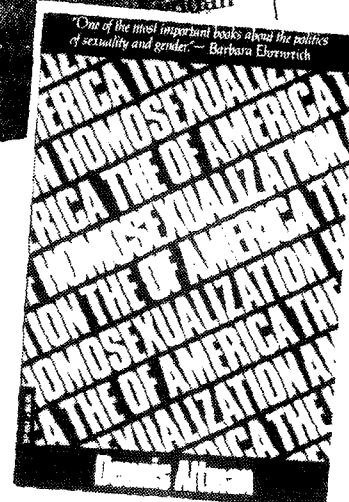


Adaptation to the PBS Television Series

**BEYOND
THE
FREEZE**

The Road
to Nuclear Sanity

Daniel Ellsberg



**HAROLD
WASHINGTON**
A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY

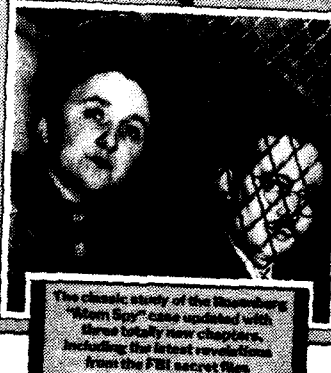
Florence Hamlish Levinsohn

**THE
ROSENBERG
FILE** A SEARCH FOR
THE TRUTH

**RONALD RADOSH
& JOYCE MILTON**

Walter and Miriam Schneir

**INVITATION
INQUEST**



OF LABOR

by Walter D. Roth and
Rosa Book

5
The true voices of working men and women are heard throughout this volume of historic paintings. The words of farm workers, union organizers, scientists and poets capture the trials and rewards of working Americans and are quoted alongside images by temporary artists. An eloquent combination reproduced on quality photo-coated paper.

**CORPORATE IDEAL IN THE
LIBERAL STATE 1900-1918**

by James Weinstein

8
A historical unraveling of how the American corporate class gained the loyalty of the populace and made its world view presentable as the dominant will during the Progressive Era. A well-researched critique of the roots of big business' ideological domination in American society.

HAROLD WASHINGTON

by Florence H. Levinsohn

\$9.95
No mayoral campaign in recent memory has caused the furor of Harold Washington's spectacular Chicago victory. This timely book by a former *In These Times* editor puts him in focus.

IN SEARCH OF OUR MOTHERS' GARDENS

by Alice Walker

\$15.95, hardcover

This is the first collection of Alice Walker's nonfiction, representing the views of a remarkable writer over a period of 15 years. The theme of her Pulitzer Prize winning novel, *The Color Purple*, is the subject of several essays here, including the title piece: black women in relation to their families; their mothers; to each other; to black men; to white society and the world at large. The essays include: The Civil Rights Movement: What Good Was It?; Coretta King; Nuclear Madness: What You Can Do; The Black Writer and the Southern Experience; and Writing *The Color Purple*.

THE COLOR PURPLE

by Alice Walker

\$6.95, paper

This book is winner of the Pulitzer Prize for fiction, an American Book Award and is a national bestseller.

"Places Walker in the company of Faulkner." —*The Nation*

"A saga filled with joy and pain, humor and bitterness, and an array of characters who live, breathe and illuminate the world..." —*Publishers Weekly*

BEYOND THE FREEZE

Union of Concerned Scientists

\$7.95

This small volume, written by the Union of Concerned Scientists, is a how-to manual on nuclear disarmament. Here is a long-term program, starting with a mutual U.S.-USSR weapons freeze, but including far-reaching measures for slashing nuclear arsenals. Written in clear language, and backed up by data and hard facts.

SEXUAL POLITICS, SEXUAL COMMUNITIES: The Making of the Homosexual Minority in the U.S.

1940-1970

by John D'Emilio

\$19.95, hardcover

D'Emilio tells the dramatic story of the efforts of gay men and lesbians to achieve equality. He examines in detail the growth of gay organizations, the debates over strategy...the clash of personalities and conflicting philosophies.

THE HOMOSEXUALIZATION OF AMERICA

by Dennis Altman

\$10.95

Arguing persuasively that homosexuality is more than just a matter of one's sexual preference, noted writer Dennis Altman, author of the gay classic *Homosexual: Oppression and Liberation*, shows how over the past decade homosexuality has begun to affect the very fabric of American life.

"One of the most important books about the politics of sexuality and gender that I have read." —Barbara Ehrenreich

INVITATION TO AN INQUEST

by Walter & Miriam Schneir

\$9.95

This revised edition, with three new chapters based on recently released FBI files, clearly presents the strongest argument for the Rosenbergs' innocence. First published in 1965, and now in its fourth edition, *Invitation to an Inquest* has been praised by *The Nation* as "some of the best detective work in modern journalism."

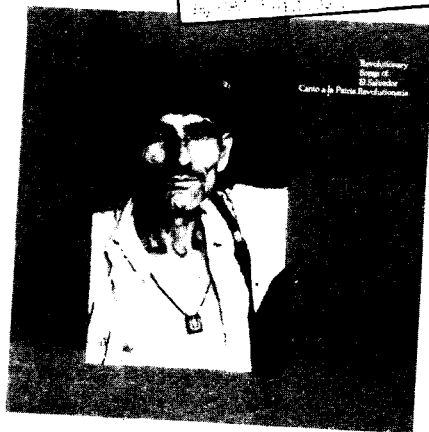
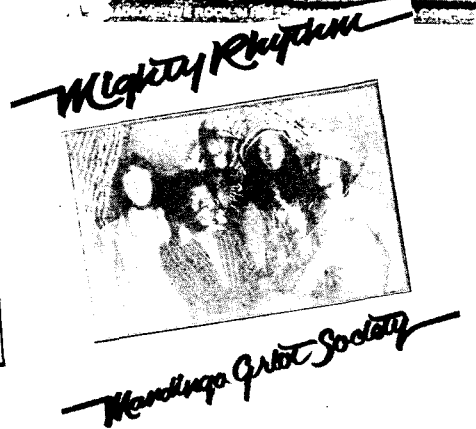
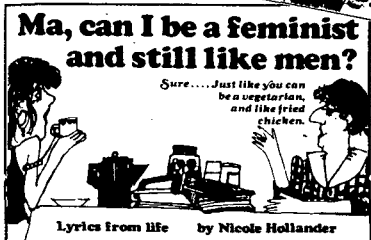
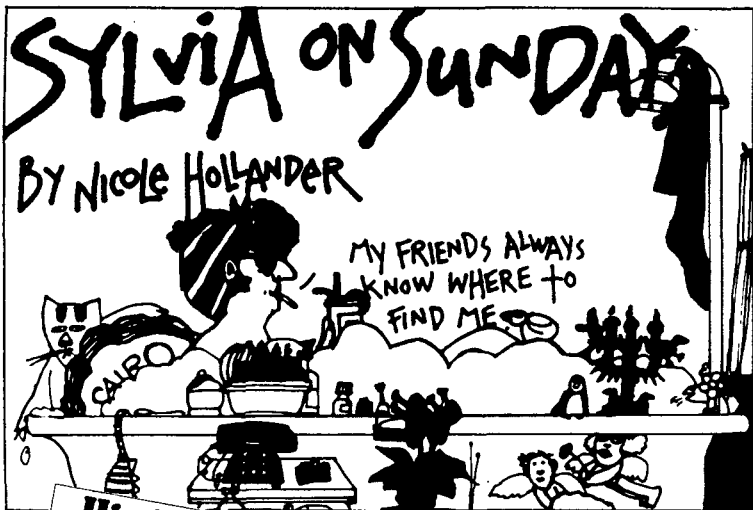
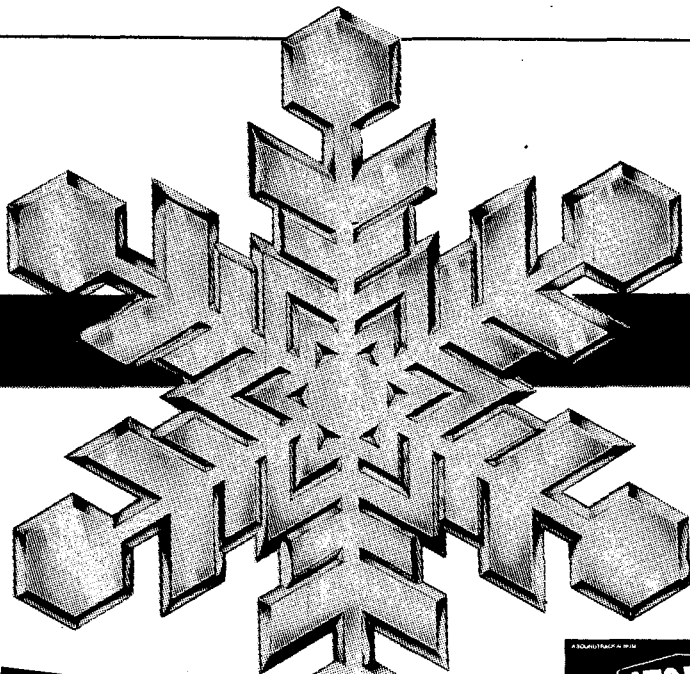
THE ROSENBERG FILE

by Ronald Radosh & Joyce Milton

\$24.95, hardcover

This new book argues that while the Rosenberg case was a product of the Cold War of the '50s, Julius Rosenberg, in fact, played a role in passing classified information to the Russians. Largely responsible for the renewed interest, not to mention controversy, in the case, this book will have a lasting impact on everyone seriously interested in the most controversial political trial of the past 50 years.

HOLIDAY BEST BUYS



BOOKS

SYLVIA ON SUNDAY

HI, THIS IS SYLVIA

I'M IN TRAINING TO BE TALL AND BLOND

MA, CAN I BE A FEMINIST AND STILL LIKE MEN?

MY WEIGHT IS ALWAYS PERFECT FOR MY HEIGHT - WHICH VARIES

MERCY, IT'S THE REVOLUTION AND I'M IN MY BATHROBE

THAT WOMAN MUST BE ON DRUGS

by Nicole Hollander
St. Martin's Press
\$5.98 each

In this series of the syndicated "Sylvia" comic strip, the flamboyant feminist keeps up the steady stream of razor-sharp wisecracks aimed at the absurdities and difficulties of surviving in a sexist, consumer culture. TV, sexism and the New Right all suffer deflation from her darts.

RECORDS

LIFELINE

Holly Near & Ronnie Gilbert
\$8.98

Capture the warmth and excitement of 1983's historic collaboration in this new concert album.

GOOD NEWS

Sweet Honey in the Rock
\$8.98

Endless possibilities of a capella gospel singing are unfolded in this live performance. The sisters fill this aural broadside (and all hearts) with political and spiritual passion. A moving voice for the voiceless in this society.

REVOLUTIONARY SONGS OF EL SALVADOR

Yolocamba Ita
\$8.98

These five young musicians from El Salvador are representatives of the Democratic Revolutionary Front. These recordings tell us about their sacrifices as well as their joys and hopes for a new homeland in their country. Spanish-English descriptive notes are included.

ATOMIC CAFE SOUNDTRACK

The hottest energy ever unleashed onto vinyl grooves. A long overdue LP compilation of stirring sermons and explosive amorous euphemisms 'bout ol' man atom. Original Cold War recordings with Slim Gaillard, Louisiana Red, Sonny Boy Williamson and others. Glowingly recommended.

MIGHTY RHYTHM

Mandingo Griot Society
\$8.98

In the group's latest release, the 21-string kora steps from its western African heritage and into contemporary American Afro-funk. Irrepressibly danceable, the Mandingo Griot Society has captivated audiences throughout the United States with its unique musical blend.

METROPOLIS

The Klezmerim
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From old Odessa to Carnegie Hall, Jewish klezmer music has been revived by this Grammy-nominated band. This instrumental album is full of unorthodox rhythms and whimsical melodies, like a steam collipe gone mad. The rowdiness and passion of klezmer music is back.

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XMAS-2



BODY POLITICS

men, the primary way of expressing frustration with what are still very strong social repressions against homosexuals.

It is worth remembering that, whatever the exceptional gains of the gay liberation movement—and this includes everything from gay rights legislative wins in cities such as Madison, Wisc., to appearance of gay characters on prime-time television programs—the vast majority of homosexuals in this country feel compelled to hide their homosexuality from their families and employers. It is still a weighty task to come out as a homosexual today, better summed up than in a recent AIDS joke making the rounds: "What's the hardest part of telling your mother you have AIDS?" Answer: "Persuading her that you're Haitian."

"The emphasis now in the gay com-

munity," said Virginia Apuzzo, executive director of the National Gay Task Force, located in New York, "is on getting the federal government to bring forth the needed funds for medical research, taking care of those who are ill and doing everything possible to locate a cure. And there's always the importance of keeping the gay community strong through this." After years of political bickering within the gay activist community, which often prevented a full-fledged mobilization of forces, AIDS has politicized homosexuals in a way Jerry Falwell could never quite do.

"The number of people AIDS has brought out into the politically active community—many of them out of the closet—is very exciting to see," insists Jeff Levi, the Washington, D.C., repre-

sentative for the Gay Task Force. "When it's life-or-death, it's worth risking your job. I haven't experienced this kind of caring or activism since the very early days of gay liberation."

"Gay men are now beginning to develop a new notion of what constitutes community," argues Dennis Altman. "And while it was never true, as so many in the press like to say, that gay men shunned long-term commitments. What was often being shunned was monogamy, something that surely will become far more common now."

"In a sense, it's quite simple," said Scott Tucker, a writer and long-time member of the loose confederation of gay leftists known as the Lavender Left. "One sees a truck coming and one gets out of the way."

And with the new sexual arrangements that AIDS will bring about, a new sense of what sexual liberation connotes will surely come.

"It will take a great deal of soul-searching on the part of the gay community, but we could be the better for it," said one Los Angeles gay activist, an attorney. "And it's worth remembering that sexual liberation often has very, very little to do with anything such as degree of sexual encounters."

"My hope," said Edmund White, "is that the current health crisis and the philosophical quandary about gay identity will somehow lead to a more profound vision of community."

Richard Kaye is assistant literary editor of The Nation.

EDITORIAL

A Jackson bid could point left in the right direction



As 1984 approaches, all the forces on the American left—the labor movement, the major women's organizations, black and Hispanic organizations and political leaders, environmentalists, nuclear freeze and disarmament advocates, consumer protectionists, gay rights advocates and civil libertarians—seem to agree on one goal: the need to defeat Ronald Reagan and his policies in next year's presidential election.

This "rainbow coalition," as Harold Washington and Jesse Jackson call it, clearly has the potential to constitute a majority of the electorate, if its members vote in large enough numbers and if they can all agree on a political strategy.

But that unity is not a given. Although virtually all of the constituents of this coalition are committed to working through the Democratic Party, there is at least an apparent conflict between the new black political activity and traditional liberal politics.

On the presidential level, Jesse Jackson's candidacy looms as one potential source of division. With Walter Mondale's endorsement by the AFL-CIO and the National Education Association two weeks ago, a conflict of approaches is in the making between labor, on the one hand, and many black politicians with some on the left, on the other—assuming that Jackson decides to run.

The National Organization for Women (NOW), which will endorse a candidate in an effort to direct an anti-Reagan women's vote, will likely follow the AFL-

Jesse Jackson says his running can only help the Democrats in the 1984 election.

CIO's lead and endorse Mondale—given the minor differences on women's issues among the six candidates who appeared before the recent NOW convention and the problems that would arise from an endorsement of a candidate different from that of the AFL-CIO.

Dwindling black skeptics.

But what if Jackson decides to run? What will that do to the possibilities of a coalition, and what effect will that have on the Democrats' chances in 1984? Wouldn't a Jackson candidacy endanger Mondale's nomination and, if nominated, his election? These concerns have been uppermost in the minds of black leaders like Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP and Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, who have publicly urged Jackson not to run. But the ranks of black skeptics are dwindling.

There are, of course, no certain answers to questions about the impact of a Jackson candidacy on the Democrats' chances of defeating Reagan. But Jackson argues persuasively that his running can only help the Democrats in the presidential election, and the left in general, in the myriad of legislative and local elections that will also be held in 1984.

First, Jackson has made it clear that he would like to run in Democratic primaries, but that he will not run as an independent candidate when he loses the

nomination. Second, he points out that Reagan carried eight key Southern states by 182,000 votes in 1980, but that as a result of Jackson's recent activities in these states 250,000 new black voters have already been registered.

In Mississippi, which Reagan carried by 11,000 votes in 1980, 40,000 blacks registered this summer, partly because of Jackson's campaign, but mostly because 104 blacks ran for local offices: supervisor, registrar, tax collector.

New black registration in the North has similar potential. In 1980, Reagan carried Illinois by 10,000 votes. Many times that number of blacks and whites registered in Chicago for this year's mayoral campaign. Almost all are Democrats. A similar situation exists in Pennsylvania, and potentially in New York.

The massive new black registration has also stimulated Hispanics to register in larger numbers than before, and has even had some spillover among whites—both friendly and hostile, but mostly traditional Democrats. On balance, Jackson argues, this new black registration is acting as a catalyst, bringing women and younger, less wealthy working people into the electorate, which means that it is naturally creating a more left electoral constituency. This appears to have been the case in Boston, where Mel King's surprising success in last week's mayoral preliminary is more than simply a result of new black registration, important as that has been. Jackson does not spell this out, but the implications for left politics are apparent.

Yet none of this speaks to the effect of a Jackson candidacy on the results within the Democratic Party. Will Jackson's running throw the nomination to John Glenn?

There is no way of knowing for sure, but it seems as likely that a Jackson candidacy would help Mondale as hurt him. In this regard, the Boston primary may be instructive. There, many on the left argued that support for Mel King was a dead end. However good his record was, however nice to have a black and a socialist in the race, the effect of his candidacy would be simply to defeat Ray Flynn, a white working-class liberal (called a "progressive") on economic issues, who was thought to be the main contender against David Finnegan, a conservative lawyer backed by Boston's downtown real-estate interests.

But as it turned out, King came in second and it was Finnegan, not Flynn, who was squeezed out. That has thrown the entire election process in November to the left, with a white "progressive" and a black socialist contending in a city that until now has been run by conservative Democrats.

In the presidential primaries there is no chance of a similar scenario, of course. Unless something unforeseeable occurs, the race is between Glenn and Mondale, with Mondale having the edge both because of his labor backing and because of his strength among party organizations. But Mondale's main threat comes from boredom, from the perception—in good part accurate as far as we can tell—that it would not make a great deal of difference in terms of policy which one wins the Democratic nomination. (Because Mondale now has the labor endorsement, and will likely have NOW's endorsement, it would make a difference in terms of who has political influence in a new administration.)

In large part this perception is a result of the fact that Mondale is running against Glenn and until recently has striven to move closer to him, which means to the right, on the theory that his left is well-covered. (In the past few weeks, Mondale has spoken more clearly as a candidate of labor and women.)

A Jackson candidacy would change all this. It would not only stimulate interest among large new constituencies, but also present Mondale with a challenge on his left. This, in turn, might force him to campaign more militantly for the votes of unionists, women, blacks and Hispanics. It might end the boredom and help Mondale as well as the Democrats in general.

For the independent socialist part of the left, all of this is interesting but frustrating because we cannot play a decisive role in presidential politics, either by providing numerical support or hoping to have our principles incorporated in policy by the major presidential candidates (except to the degree that our principles coincide with those of labor, the women's movement and black and Hispanic aspirations).

The task now facing our part of the left is to gain a foothold in public debate, to find a way to win a voice in the mainstream of American politics. That does not mean a platform from which to speak inaudibly once every four years, as the third party socialists do. It means to begin the process of electing our own people, or those committed to a truly joint program and dependent at least in large part on our organizational support.

We have argued many times before that the best way to begin this process is to put our energies into electing a small group of members of the House of Representatives. The reason for this is partly that it would be possible to target a carefully selected group of districts where there is a reasonable hope of building or-

The task now facing our part of the left is to gain a foothold in public debate, to find a way to win a voice in the mainstream of American politics. We should begin the process of electing our own people to office.

ganizations capable of electing someone in the foreseeable future—if not on first attempt.

It is also partly because there already exists a left presence in the House—the Black Congressional Caucus, which is the only stable left presence in American political life. The addition of even two or three outspoken whites on the left, and certainly of half a dozen, working with the Black Caucus would create a much stronger voice in the House. It would create the possibility of some meaningful dialog—a real challenge to the underlying assumptions of policy—and not only of the Reagan administration but also of the mainstream House Democrats.

And it is something that can be done, if there is the political intelligence and the will to do it. Unfortunately, so far, there is no visible evidence that either exists. ■

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

JOBS AND FREEDOM

JOHN JUDIS' DESCRIPTION OF THE nature and aftermath of the 1963 March on Washington (*ITT*, Sept. 7) is glib and wrong. That march was widely billed and promoted as being for Jobs and Freedom. Its call, for which Bayard Rustin was probably responsible, prominently included an economic program, embodying a New New Deal.

By 1963 there was a significant Northern civil rights movement whose attention was significantly directed to employment issues, both in combatting job discrimination and in promoting full employment, as well as to education and housing, all to be subjects of national legislation in the '60s under the rubric of President Johnson's "Great Society."

By coincidence, in her article "Bringing Up Baby" in the same *ITT* issue, Mary Ellen Schoonmaker, in her history of federal child care initiatives, omits entirely the Headstart program, legislated in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. That legislation set the precedent of "maximum feasible participation" of the poor in the policy and conduct of social programs. It was in recognition of the class and racial inequalities that oppressed "The Other America," and was enacted in significant part as a response to the civil rights movement. And it was a (new) community development/community empowerment strategy—a strategy that, if it did not conquer poverty, succeeded as a training ground for minority leadership.

Indeed, the 1971 national child care program enacted by Congress and vetoed by President Nixon was a virtual root-and-branch expansion of Headstart. And while the women's movement supported the bill enthusiastically, so did the minority/civil rights/anti-poverty/community development forces.

As significant as the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and '65 were, Judis and *ITT* readers should not regard their enactments as the triumph of the bulk of the civil rights movement's demands. *In These Times* readers would benefit from the views on these subjects of Manning Marable and Michael Harrington.

—Robert L. Bender
Plainfield, N.J.

DEMOCRACY FOR PAKISTAN

WE WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS OUR deep concern over the recent events in Pakistan. According to the last report we received, nearly 80 people have been killed by police in the Sind province since the new wave of agitation for the end of Gen. Zia-ul-Huq's six-year military rule started August 14. More than 100 protesters have been flogged. Several hundred others have received long prison terms with hard labor and heavy fines by summary military courts. Bodies of opponents of the regime are still being recovered from sugarcane fields in the Nawabshah district. Recently, a local leader of the protest movement in Karachi, Haji Yusuf Laccwala, died mysteriously in police custody. His body was buried by the government without a post-mortem.

The current reign of terror let loose

by Pakistan's military rulers represents only a high point in the regime of tyranny to which the people of Pakistan have been continuously subjected since 1977. The severity with which the Zia regime is handling the current protest is indicative of the seriousness of the challenge to its unlawful existence. Any effort to prolong the dictatorship by force or subterfuge is likely to lead to a more serious confrontation, with dire consequences for stability in the volatile region of South and Southwest Asia.

We are dismayed by the Reagan administration's policy of bolstering Zia's regime in order to make geopolitical gains in the region. In our opinion, this policy will ultimately prove to be destabilizing. Only a democratic, demilitarized and genuinely non-aligned Pakistan can contribute to peace and security in the region.

Despite many political differences, we agree on one fundamental point: the inalienable right of the Pakistani people to rid themselves of military dictatorship and establish a democratic order. We deplore the highhanded methods used by the Zia regime to suppress the civil disobedience movement. We appeal to the North American people and Pakistani emigres in this continent to raise their voices against the brutalities of the Zia government and support the legitimate democratic aspirations of the Pakistani people. We urge upon the Secretary-General of the UN and the nations of the world to take immediate steps to stop atrocities in Pakistan.

—Qayyum Nizami

Central Information Secretary,
Pakistan Peoples Party, exiled in Ottawa

—Dr. Feroz Ahmed

Convenor, Pakistan Democratic Forum,
Brooklyn, N.Y.

—Dr. Hasan N. Gardezi

Algoma University College,
Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario

—Yahya Qureshi

President, Pakistan People's Party
Toronto Branch

—Dr. A.I. Bukhari

Cold Spring Harbor Laboratories
Cold Spring Harbor, N.Y.

—Prof. Nesar Ahmad

Friends World College
Huntington, N.Y.

—Dr. Tayyab Mahmud

Berkeley, Calif.

KHOMEINI'S MURDERS

RECENTLY THE PARIS OFFICE OF THE People Mojahedin Organization of Iran released the names and particulars of 7,746 dissidents, executed or killed under torture. Of those, 3,671 murders were never announced by the Khomeini regime. Two-thirds of the victims were school and university students and the rest included government employees, merchants, physicians and other university graduates and also children, elderly and pregnant women. The search to identify the rest of an estimated 30,000 executed people is continuing in Iran and several researchers working in this connection have been arrested and executed.

The fact that Khomeini's regime has banned the announcement of executions and refuses to disclose the exact number of an estimated 100,000 political prisoners and to allow free inspection of its prisons by international observers proves that, contrary to the pop-

ular myth, Khomeini is very much concerned about the publicity given to his crimes for the simple reason that he is dependent on trade with the West for massive imports of every foodstuff and commodity and, more indirectly, for arms to continue the senseless Iran-Iraq war and use it as a scapegoat for economic crises and to overshadow the civil war.

—Ali Rezaadeh
Chicago

OUR PAPER

I AM RENEWING MY SUBSCRIPTION TO your fine newspaper. In view of our shared values and my continuous financial support, perhaps I should refer to *In These Times* as our fine newspaper.

Last time I renewed my subscription I mentioned that *In These Times* should provide coverage of the men's liberation movement. In this regard, I am disappointed. I am convinced that social structures are direct reflections of the male personality. Because so much visible power is in our hands, the world is sure to change as we do. By this observation I do not mean to diminish the importance of the women's liberation movement.

Aside from the lack of attention to this subject, I am very proud of our newspaper.

—Mark Johnson
Gayle Lee Wind
Beardsley, Minn.

INNOCENT

THE SHORT NOTE ABOUT THE STATE Department's denial of entry visas to Dario Fo and Franca Rame ("In Short," *ITT*, Sept. 14) implied that the two Italian satirists have supported terrorist groups and were justly denied visas on those grounds. As far as I know, they were denied visas for membership in *Soccorso Rosso* (Red Aid), an organization that seeks fair trials and an end to torture for political prisoners.

In a recent interview (*Theater*, Yale School of Drama, Fall 1983), Franca Rame said she has "been doing prison work for the last 14 years, going to trials, helping detainees, both 'political' and 'common' criminals, since there's no distinction between the two." She added that in her country since 1977, more than 15,000 people have been arrested and then released because they were innocent, and now "people are afraid to even start up a petition, because the state immediately criminalizes you, and brands you an 'aider and abetter,' or a fellow traveler." The U.S.

State Department appears to be continuing the work of the Italian government in accusing Fo and Rame of crimes they have not committed and convicting them without trial.

—Joel Schechter
New Haven, Conn.

NON-STEP

THANKS FOR REPORTING THE Socialist Party national convention in the "In Short" section (*ITT*, Sept. 28).

While not giving the same space or depth of coverage that is given to the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), the Citizens' Party and even the Libertarian Party, being mentioned at all is a step in the right direction—away from a sectarian policy that only alienated large numbers of readers by ignoring their organizations and their struggles.

I hope you will soon begin covering the activities of other left groups that would be interesting to learn more about—the Socialist Labor Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party and the others.

—Donald F. Busky
Local chairperson,
Socialist Party of Philadelphia

Editor's note: Sectarian: confined to the dogmatic limits of a sect (American Heritage Dictionary). As a matter of policy, we don't cover the activity of various socialist sects unless it is inherently newsworthy. We have adopted this policy in the belief that these organizations are of interest only to a small group of adherents, and that over the past 50 years they have made clear their lack of potential as contributors to a popular socialist politics in the United States.

INFORMATION PLEASE

FOR A RESEARCH PROJECT I AM SEEKING any information available concerning John Frank, who could be Jan Frankel or Jan Frankl, once a secretary to Leon Trotsky. He is known to have lived in New York City and in Los Angeles, Calif.

—Professor Pierre Broue
Institut d'Etudes Politiques de l'Université de
Grenoble, Domaine Universitaire, BP 45,
F38402 Saint Martin d'Heres-Cedex, France

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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STF1

PERSPECTIVES

By Ronald Takaki

ON JUNE 19, 1982, VINCENT Chin, a 27-year-old Chinese American, went to a Detroit bar with three friends to celebrate his upcoming wedding. There two white men—Ronald Ebens and his stepson Michael Nitz—taunted him, calling him a “Jap.” Ebens, a laid-off general foreman for Chrysler, complained: “It’s because of you motherfuckers that we’re out of work.”

A brief scuffle erupted. Chin quickly left the bar and was chased and hunted by Ebens and Nitz. They finally trapped Chin in front of a McDonald’s restaurant where Nitz held their prey while Ebens bludgeoned him with a baseball bat. Before he lost consciousness, Chin said to a friend: “It isn’t fair.” Four days later he died from severe head injuries. Several hundred people, originally invited to Chin’s wedding, attended his funeral instead. In this tragedy, many American

izens for Justice and demanded a review of the light sentences. They also urged the U.S. Department of Justice to investigate the violation of Chin’s federal civil rights by Ebens and Nitz. In the view of Asian Americans, what Judge Kaufman did was to grant a \$3,000 license to kill Asians. “Three thousand dollars can’t even buy a good used car these days,” one of them remarked. “And this was the price of a life.”

The murder of Vincent Chin has aroused Asian Americans everywhere. They know he was killed because of his race; they realize it could happen to any of them. They also know that what happened to Chin in Detroit was not an isolated incident: a Vietnamese high school student was recently murdered in Davis, Calif., in a racially motivated attack by a white student and Asian Americans elsewhere have also been victimized by racial violence.

“Ebens and Nitz beat Chin to death simply because he was an Asian American, and they didn’t spend a single day in jail,” said Hoyt Zia, co-chair of Asian

back,” declared George Suey. “But this time we will stand up and fight for our rights. As Dr. Marisa Chuang of the American Citizens for Justice observed: ‘This is an historic moment for Asian Americans because for the first time we are all united.’”

Vincent Chin was the only child of Lily and Hing Chin. Mrs. Chin, 63, is an assembly plant worker, and both she and her husband had been laundry workers. Born in Canton, she came to the U.S. in 1948: her great grandfather had been a railroad worker here in the 19th century, and she remembered his tales about racial persecution in this country. Hing Chin, who died of a kidney disease about two years ago, had arrived in the U.S. in 1922 at the age of 17. He had enlisted in the U.S. Army during World War II; in 1947 he visited China and married Lily Yee. The Chin’s son had high hopes for his future. “When he was a child,” Mrs. Chin recalled, “he wanted to be a writer. I said, ‘Vincent, you can’t make money at that.’ Then he wanted to be a lawyer because he liked to talk. ‘Ma, I want to be a

lawyer.’ ‘Oh, you’re Chinese, nobody’d believe you,’ I said. Then he wanted to be a veterinarian. ‘Oh, Vincent, you can’t do that. You can’t open up the animals, you’re scared of blood.’”

Vincent graduated from Oak Park High School and studied architecture at the Lawrence Institute of Technology. In the summer of 1982, he was working as a draftsman for Efficient Engineering. But his bright future was suddenly and violently darkened. “I don’t understand how this could happen in America,” Mrs. Chin cried. “My husband fought for this country. We always paid our taxes and worked hard.... Before, I really loved America, but now this has made me very angry.”

The anger propelling the movement for justice for Vincent Chin has led many people to ask: Who killed Vincent Chin? They know that Ebens and Nitz are the killers. But they point out that the corporate executives of the auto industry must also be held accountable for Chin’s death: the auto manufacturers should have been designing and building fuel efficient cars 20 years ago, and now they are blaming Japan for Detroit’s massive unemployment. “Unemployment is not caused by foreign competition,” argued Newton Kamakane of UAW Local 1364. “It’s the result of mistakes and poor planning of the multinational corporations—and GM is one of the biggest.”

In *Pacific Citizen*, Jim Shimoura wrote: “Vincent Chin’s death is the epitome of the current problem of using racist campaigns and their adverse impact on Asian Americans. It is significant that Ebens was employed as a supervisor at an auto assembly plant. In that setting, being constantly indoctrinated about the ‘evils’ of the Japanese automobile industry, Japanese management and workers, and the ‘threat’ of Japan on the U.S. economy, is it mere coincidence that the build up anger against Asians was unleashed when Ebens came upon Vincent Chin?”

In their television commercials and their promotional campaigns to “buy American,” automakers like Chrysler, Ford and General Motors have contributed to the racist hysteria pervasive among white American workers and to the proliferation of bumper stickers that read: “Unemployment—made in Japan.” Meanwhile, however, U.S. automakers do not as loudly disclose their heavy investments in Toyota and Mitsubishi, or reveal their relocation of production in Third World countries like Mexico, where General Motors and Chrysler plants in Ciudad Juarez have given the town the name “Little Detroit.” Similarly, other American corporations such as Motorola, Texas Instruments and General Electric have been closing plants in the U.S. and moving production overseas to “export platforms” in places like Hong Kong, Korea and Singapore where labor is unorganized and “cheap.”

Thus, as they “deindustrialize” the U.S., our automakers scapegoat Japan for the misery of American workers, directing the rage and frustration felt by whites like Ebens toward Japan and away from the structural ills and production reorganization of the auto industry. “What disturbs me,” explained George Wong, “is that the two men who brutally clubbed Vincent Chin to death in Detroit in 1982 were thinking the same thoughts as the lynch mob in San Francisco Chinatown 100 years ago: ‘Kill the foreigners to save our jobs!’ The Chinese must go!” When corporate heads tell frustrated workers the foreign imports are taking their jobs, then they are acting like an agitator of a lynch mob.”

During the great struggle for civil rights for blacks in the ‘60s, James Baldwin declared: “I am not a ‘nigger.’ I am a man. And the question is, why does white America need a ‘nigger?’” Vincent Chin, had he survived the horrible beating in Detroit, would today be insisting: “I am not a ‘Jap.’ I am a man. My great-great grandfather helped build America’s industrial greatness. And, like Ebens and Nitz, I am an American and a worker. And the question is, why is there a need for a ‘Jap’ in America today?”

Ronald Takaki teaches ethnic studies at the University of California at Berkeley.

I am not a “Jap”; I am a man



symbols are present—Auto City USA, McDonalds, a murdered Chinese and an unemployed white auto worker wielding a baseball bat.

Charged with second-degree murder, Ebens and Nitz were allowed to plead guilty to manslaughter. On March 16, 1983, Wayne County Circuit Judge Charles S. Kaufman, after hearing arguments only from the defense attorneys and not from the prosecuting attorney, sentenced the two men to three years probation and fined each of them \$3,000. Both of the criminals were permitted to “repay their debt” to society in monthly payments of \$125. “These weren’t the kind of men you send to jail,” commented Judge Kaufman “We’re talking here about a man [Ebens] who’s held down a responsible job with the same company for 17 or 18 years and his son [Nitz] who is employed and is a part-time student.... These men are not going to go out and harm somebody else. I just didn’t think that putting them in prison would do any good for them or for society.... You don’t make punishment fit the crime; you make punishment fit the criminal.”

“What kind of law is this? What kind of justice?” Vincent Chin’s mother, Lily Chin, asked angrily. “This happened because my son is Chinese. If two Chinese killed a white person, they must go to jail, maybe for their whole lives.... Something is wrong with this country.” Across the U.S., news of Judge Kaufman’s sentences has been met with similar disbelief and outrage. Asian Americans in Detroit immediately organized the American Cit-

Americans for Justice in San Francisco. George Wong expressed the shock of many Asian Americans when he said: “The killing of Vincent Chin happened in 1982, not 1882—the year of the Chinese Exclusion Act!”

The reaction to the Chin killing and Judge Kaufman’s sentences has been widespread. Asian Americans have organized committees for justice for Vincent Chin from New York to Seattle to Los Angeles. Congressman Norman Mineta has written to Attorney General William French Smith: There is “widespread belief that the entire case would have been handled differently by local officials if he [Chin] had not been of Chinese background. We are very concerned about this case and respectfully request your personal attention to it. There is no room for racial discrimination in the courtrooms of this nation.”

Organizations concerned about civil rights such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Japanese American Citizens League have also decried the injustice. United Auto Workers Local 1364 in Fremont, Calif., unanimously passed a resolution supporting justice for Chin. “Vincent Chin’s murder was an act of bigotry,” stated black UAW member Sam Marsh. “And the judge who sentenced the bigoted killers demonstrated the action of a bigot.”

Within Asian American communities across the country a political electricity is empowering a determined movement. “For a long time we have not fought

Chinese American Vincent Chin was murdered last year by two drunken auto workers who mistook him for Japanese and blamed him for their being out of work.

By Lawrence Weschler

IT'S TOO BAD IT DIDN'T COME a year earlier. Last year, on Friday, October 8, the Polish parliament, under the direction of the country's martial law administrators, summarily delegatized Solidarity, a union of 10 million dues-paying members (it had only been under suspension during the 10 months following the Dec. 13, 1981, coup). With determined fury, the next Monday, October 11, workers in the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk, who had always thought of the union as especially theirs, launched a strike with the first shift.

All Poland held its breath: this was, after all, the way everything had started just over two years earlier. Angry workers straddled the shipyard's walls, staring out defiantly at the surrounding militia; someone took a can of red paint and daubed the letters s-o-l-i-d-a-r-n-o-s-c across the huge white block letters L-E-N-I-N-A above the gate at the shipyard's entrance. The strikers were demanding the relegalization of their union and the release of its leader, Lech Walesa, who'd been interned ever since the coup. They knew, and all Poland knew, that the Nobel Peace Prize was going to be announced the next day, and they were absolutely certain that Walesa was going to be the recipient. They were even preparing posters: "Free the Nobel Laureate!"

And then, of course, Walesa did not receive the prize. With the October 12 announcement that the Nobel Committee had instead conferred the honor on Alva Myrdal and Alfonso Garcia Robles for their work on behalf of nuclear disarmament, the Gdansk strike faltered. There were additional reasons for the strike's collapse: all communications to the Gdansk region had been severed and the yards were being militarized (which meant, in effect, that all the workers were suddenly being drafted into the army and were hence subject to military discipline and courtmartial). But the Nobel announcement may have been decisive: morale suddenly hemorrhaged and the strike was lost. In retrospect, this was probably the key moment in the history of Poland's "state of war," the moment when the hopes of the Poles for any short term renewal of Solidarity were finally dashed. Had the Nobel committee instead selected Walesa that day in 1982, there's little doubt that the Gdansk strike would have spread throughout the country in a new surge of hope and euphoria, and the military governors of Poland thereby denied their momentary triumph. They might indeed have been forced into the authentic "dialog" that had all along been Walesa's aim. Who knows where things might have led? (For that matter, 1983 would have been the year when a Nobel Prize for Myrdal and Robles could have made a real difference, what with the campaign against the deployment of the American Pershing and Cruise missiles in Western Europe just reaching its climax.

As is, the impact of the award to Walesa this year is by no means slight: Poles who had begun to sink into a kind of numb despair, especially in the anticlimactic denouement of the Pope's departure after his visit this past June, were once again buoyed. These sorts of honors—the elevation of a Pole to the papacy in 1978, the selection of a Pole for the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1980, and now Walesa—are taken very seriously in Poland. They are shields against oblivion, confirmation that the world has not forgotten and that their aspirations have world significance. Each time they occur, they make these already history-intoxicated people that much more difficult to suppress. The regime's annoyance at Walesa's award was by no means merely rhetorical.

At any rate, the timing of the award—or rather, its relative mistiming—provides all students of political action with yet another occasion for meditation on the role of chance or luck—whatever you want to call it—in the unfolding of history. The class struggle is continually played out across a landscape of gritty

and intractably unpredictable particulars. (Meanwhile, students of the uncanny *non sequitor* in history will have already noted that Lech Walesa at age 40 is exactly the same age as Mick Jagger. Talk about strange parallel lives!)

1982 ambivalence.

At the time of the Nobel Committee's selection back in 1982, there was a good deal of speculation as to why they had passed Walesa over. Some of it centered on the ambivalent feelings Solidarity aroused in the Western peace community, especially in Europe. On the one hand, Solidarity stood as a bracing inspiration—a mass people's movement that had risen seemingly out of nowhere against seemingly impossible odds to

challenge a deeply entrenched military-bureaucratic apparatus. Wasn't this, after all, precisely the sort of thing the Western peace movements needed to accomplish in the coming years?

But on the other hand, many worried about the corrosive effects of the unfolding drama in Poland on the spirit of détente. The more the Soviets felt threatened and besieged—or so went this line of reasoning—the colder the general diplomatic climate was going to become, and the less likelihood there was going to be of any movement in disarmament. Furthermore, the general attitude of the Poles themselves frightened many Europeans: Solidarity at times—and increasingly so during the last few months of its above-ground existence—seemed to flirt

the union's remarkable ethos, its unwavering insistence on nonviolent tactics in the face of a massive state force, but also because of its larger ambitions.

"I have always felt," Walesa declared, shortly after his release from internment last November, "that to win doesn't mean to overcome and destroy but to gain friends and allies." The comment was plainly a prudent bit of diplomatic rhetoric, given the actual deployment of forces in the field, but it was also indicative of Solidarity's continuing moral stand—that the slow, careful, determined pursuit of "dialog" was always going to be preferable to outright confrontation.

Just a few months ago, Adam Michnik, one of Solidarity's principal theorists, smuggled a letter out of prison in

PERSPECTIVES



The Nobel prize is a help to Solidarity, but a year too late

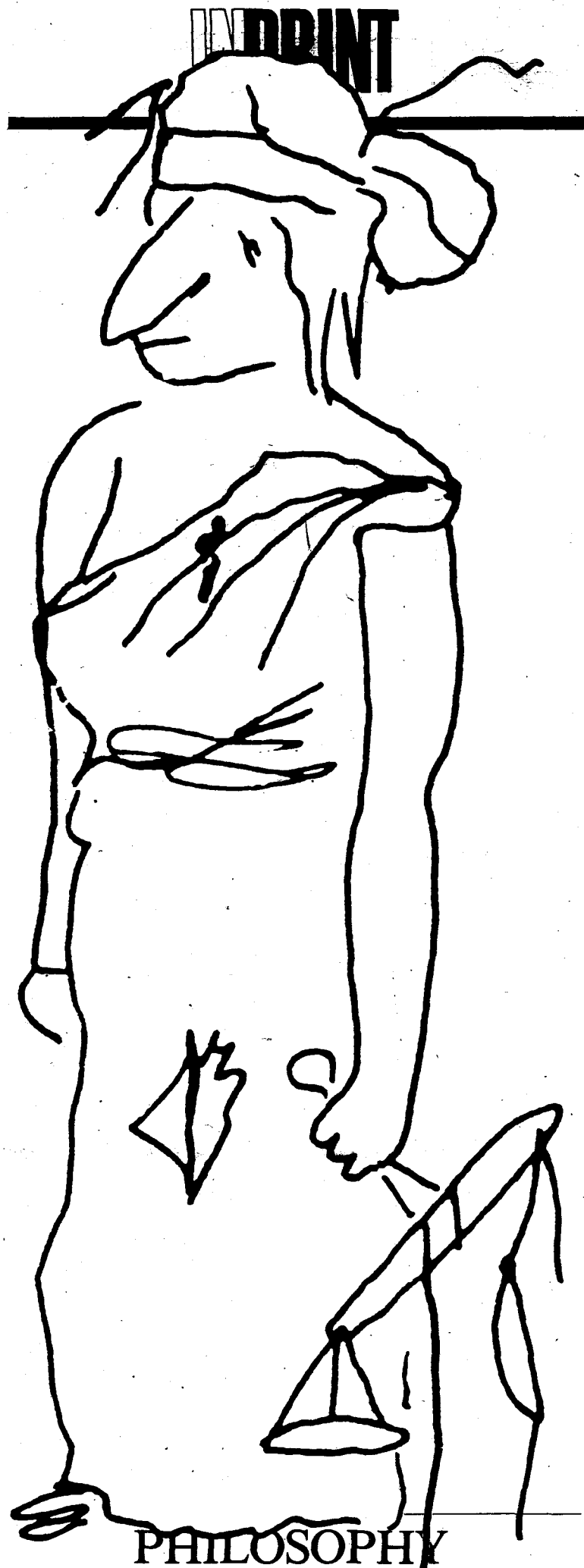
On Oct. 8, 1982, Poland's rulers delegatized Solidarity. On the 11th, Gdansk workers struck. The Nobel prize was announced on the 12th, but Lech Walesa didn't get it.

with a romantic, messianic, anti-Russian nationalism, a throwback to the 19th century that seemed desperately and dangerously out of date. Even though Lech Walesa had personally tried to temper the confrontational tendencies in Solidarity, many commentators at this time last year cited such misgivings in accounting for the Nobel committee's reluctance to honor him.

This year, when the Committee did confer the prize on Walesa, it emphasized Solidarity's role as an organization fighting for human rights, noting that the struggle for human rights is also a struggle for peace. This, of course, is true—especially so in a world where the eventual struggle for disarmament will have to be carried out on both sides of the divide, people on both sides pressuring the military-bureaucratic structures of their respective blocs for wider concessions. But the award of the 1983 Nobel Peace Prize to the leader of Solidarity was also an acknowledgement, a recognition by the Europeans that, contrary to their earlier misgivings, Solidarity was and remains one of the world's most important forces for peace. This is true in part because of

which he reflected on the wider implications of this approach. "There is in today's world," he wrote, "a great need to seek ways to peace and mutual agreement.... It may well be that one of the ways leads through Poland.... But dialog requires the existence of partners. Solidarity, pushed into the underground, calumniated and persecuted, pays a high price to keep the chance of dialog alive. I wish the peace campaigners in the West took this dimension of Solidarity's actions into account, for it is certainly not unthinkable that a spectacular peaceful solution in Poland will become the starting point for the resolution of international tensions; that it will become a source of strength and hope for all who prefer negotiations, however difficult and protracted, to dialoguing by means of truncheons and tear gas, tanks and guns, and finally missiles of tactical, medium, and strategic range." In selecting Walesa this year, the Nobel committee may well have been endorsing this vision of spectacular possibility.

It will be interesting in the weeks ahead to see the fate of Walesa's imprisoned colleagues, notably Adam Michnik and 10 other Solidarity and KOR leaders who are still awaiting trial in Warsaw on charges of attempting to overthrow the state. Among these gentlemen are some of the most remarkable proponents and practitioners of peace in the world today, and the same world that honors Walesa this December will be needing to exercise special vigilance on their behalf as well. ■ *Lawrence Weschler's reports on Poland for the New Yorker, where he is a staff member, will be collected in a new edition of a book to be published by Pantheon this spring.*



Equality: what? why? and how?

Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality

By Michael Walzer
Basic Books, 345 pp., \$19.95

By George Scialabba

In a famous letter of 1843 Marx warned socialists against "confronting the world as doctrinaires with a new principle: 'Here is the truth, bow down before it!'" He insisted that socialists' proper business is a "ruthless criticism of everything existing."

But as Marx knew, all criticism presupposes a vision of how things should be. And in a less often quoted part of the same letter, he hinted at the source of the socialist vision: "It will [finally become clear] that the world has

long been dreaming of something that it can acquire only if it becomes conscious of it...that it is not a matter of drawing a great dividing line between past and future, but of fulfilling the aspirations of the past...that humankind begins no new work, but consciously accomplishes its old work."

Political philosopher and *Dis-sent* co-editor Michael Walzer takes up this hint in *Spheres of Justice*. He tries to show that our common intuitions about justice and equality (by "our" he means the ones current in contemporary American political culture) can yield radical conclusions: "A society of equals...is a practical possibility, here and now."

Political philosophers have typically tried to get at the mean-

ing of justice by deducing some universal set of "natural rights" from some abstract version of "human nature." Walzer's method is different. For him, "justice" is the way a society's values fit with its practices. Injustice is a lack of fit—a violation by some people of the culture's common understanding of what power, money, education, leisure or any other social good is really for. And popular protest, he argues, has usually appealed to such common traditional understandings, and is likely to do so in the future.

What is equality?

What does equality mean in contemporary American culture? Some friends (and most enemies) of equality have answered that it can only mean what Walzer labels "simple equality": roughly the same amount of everything for everyone. In other words, equal incomes and working hours, the rotation of positions, the devaluation of educational credentials and professional "expertise," the abolition of honors, and so on.

Assuming that this is a possible state of affairs, is it a desirable one? Ideally, social goods in our culture tend to be distributed, Walzer argues, according to some "internal principle": honor according to merit; rewarding work to those who can do that work best; publicly funded leisure time to those who can use it to create or discover beautiful things; political power to those whose arguments are most persuasive; and (discretionary) money to those who can get it through market exchanges.

But it's obvious that our abilities—to do certain sorts of work, to persuade our fellow citizens or to make money—vary greatly. Achieving "simple equality" would require continuous interference with spontaneous, organic distribution processes. And that sort of interference can be accomplished only by a powerful central authority. If equality means "simple equality," then, concludes Walzer, the conservatives are right: freedom and equality are incompatible.

But Walzer claims simple equality is not really what is implied by this ideal. The ideal of equality implies "a society where no social good serves or can serve as a means of domination." And this means that distributions of social goods should be autonomous: that preeminence in one sphere should not translate into preeminence in other, unrelated spheres. Historically, this ideal has been violated in many ways. Noble birth, religious rank, ethnic membership, maleness—these attributes have, in various societies, conferred advantages in the distribution of wealth, honor, office, political power, leisure, education and authority. And that, according to Walzer, is the essence of domination, the root form of inequality.

Capital and domination.

In our own society, the characteristic means of domination is the ownership of capital. Capital translates, directly or indirectly, into the possession of social goods—education, leisure, political power, medical care, etc.—which ought to be distributed on very different principles. The collective determination of what each social good really means to us and therefore of how it ought to be distributed among us—this is what Walzer calls "the regime of complex equality."

Walzer's reading of American

political culture leads him to expect (or at least to hope) that the final shape of that collective determination will be "a decentralized democratic socialism." By this he means "a strong welfare state run, in part at least, by local and amateur officials; a constrained market; an open and demystified civil service; independent public schools; the sharing of hard work and free time; the protection of religious and familial life; a system of public honoring and dishonoring free from all considerations of rank or class; workers' control of companies and factories; a politics of parties; movements, meetings and public debate."

Walzer's fundamental argument is that "complex equality" is what contemporary Americans

Walzer argues that "complex equality" is what Americans mean by "justice," and his book is devoted to deriving a social agenda from that principle

actually mean by "justice," and much of *Spheres of Justice* is devoted to deriving a social agenda from that principle. The book includes a vigorous defense of the citizenship rights of "guest workers"; an elegant proof that workers' control and economic democracy stand on exactly the same philosophical footing as citizens' control and political democracy; a sensitive discussion of how unpleasant work should be socially shared; and some obliquely phrased reservations about affirmative action. The latter have drawn sharp criticism from both liberals (e.g., Ronald Dworkin) and socialists (e.g., Elizabeth Fox-Genovese), but Walzer's position—that the illegitimate link between office and unequal income or power should be consistently challenged, and that reparations should be made directly to historically disadvantaged groups—is more consistent and in fact more radical than that of his critics.

The main problem with *Spheres of Justice* is its lack of specificity. Walzer's descriptions of how complex equality might actually be implemented in an advanced industrial society are thin. Oddly, he has chosen most of his examples of inequality and injustice from remote periods and places. This is often entertaining, but it forfeits the urgency and conviction that contemporary examples might produce.

Even more seriously, the book's high level of generality allows Walzer to evade a crucial difficulty: the question of whether market relations can coexist with cooperative, participatory economic relations. This question is central to much of the best recent American socialist theory (for example, work by Carmen Sirianni and by Michael Albert

NOTEBOOK

Women's Worth

By Janet Ridgway and Larry Adelman

California Newsreel, Media at Work, 630 Natoma St., San Francisco, CA 94103
68 pp., \$3.50, or free with film rental

This teaching manual to accompany prize-winning documentary *The Willmar 8* (In *These Times*, Nov. 12, 1980) is a much-needed example of how to make the most of documentary film with what the authors call "active viewing." *The Willmar 8* was made by Lee Grant to record the 18-month strike by a group of women bank tellers in southern Minnesota. The story of these unlikely strikers and the reactions of their neighbors eloquently reveals sex discrimination issues. This manual, supported by 9to5 and AF-SCME unions and produced with church and foundation funding, turns the film into the centerpiece of a thought- and action-provoking session. Its exercises, stressing hands-on techniques such as questionnaires, checklists and discussion questions, first prepare viewers for what they will see, and then, after a review of the film's events, delve into an analysis of why such discrimination exists. The final section suggests action for change and provides names and phone numbers. Alternative sets of exercises are provided for different kinds of groups, and church groups get

a special supplement. There should be more workbooks like this; they can make films more than entertainment or "audio-visual aids," and fulfill documentaries' promise of focusing discussion on critical issues.

—P.A.

The Disinherited

By Jack Conroy

Lawrence Hill, 310 pp., \$5.95 paper

One of the proletarian novels of the '30s so often scoffed at by English professors, *The Disinherited* has nonetheless held up well over a half century of shifting literary and political fashions. This is the story of Larry, a poor kid out of a tough Missouri mining town who finds that life isn't much easier in the factories of Detroit or the unemployment lines of Toledo. Conroy puts us into the factory right alongside Larry: we feel sweat drip off our brows, we understand the close ties that bind seemingly opposite line-mates, we know the knotted-stomach terror that sweeps the shop after each accident and we share the exultant feeling of freedom at the end of a shift. Despite limited characterizations and language that is occasionally too abstract and Latinate for the subject, *The Disinherited* furnishes us with a vivid portrait of working-class life in the '20s and '30s. By stressing storytelling above ideological or aesthetic motives, Conroy (who still lives in Moberly,

and Robin Hahnel). It deserves much more attention than it receives from Walzer.

Philosophers' quarrel.

The overly abstract character of *Spheres of Justice* may be a result of its origin, which is a quarrel among philosophers. During the early '70s, Walzer and Robert Nozick taught a course at Harvard entitled "Capitalism and Socialism." They became close friends and intellectual antagonists. In 1974 Nozick published *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, an attack on socialist morality and a defense of competitive individualism, which became the most influential work of political philosophy in the last decade. Whatever Nozick's intentions, the book legitimated the resurgent politics of greed. Walzer has written *Spheres of Justice* as an answer to *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*. It is a crushingly effective answer, but it is not clear that anyone except other academic philosophers will notice.

As one of the finest specimens of recent political philosophy, *Spheres of Justice* prompts the question: is philosophy of any use? Wittgenstein, the greatest 20th-century philosopher, harbored doubts all his life and finally concluded that the main use of philosophy was as a kind of therapy for the compulsion to "philosophize." Those afflicted with that compulsion will be grateful for Walzer's carefully argued, gracefully written book. But even those who are free of it may discover, as they try to articulate their own visions of justice and equality, that Walzer's attempt, for all its limitations, has helped them find their voice. ■ *George Scialabba writes about politics and culture for the Village Voice and the Boston Phoenix.*

Mo.) can claim a classic to his credit. —J.W.

Grassroots Politics in the 1980s

By Marlene Dixon, et. al.
Institute for the Study of Labor and Economic Crisis, 130 pp., \$5

Grassroots Politics in the 1980s is a pioneering study of voting behavior prepared by left social scientists who have used sophisticated tools of data collection to analyze a grassroots organizing campaign of which they were a part. The subject is the Tax the Corporations initiative campaign in San Francisco in

1979 and 1980. After being outvoted twice on two rather complex initiative propositions (P and V), the campaigners finally passed a simpler one (Proposition M) with 55 percent of the vote. The conclusions show how upper-class media blitzes and working-class cynicism can both be overcome by organizing and educational methods aimed at building long-lasting support. These conclusions are backed up with detailed methodology on both the organizing and the research. —B.G.

Contributors: Pat Aufderheide, Bertram Gross, Jay Walljasper.

THE DISINHERITED is a vivid portrait of working-class life in the '30s.



Jack Delano

HOLLYWOOD MUSICALS

That's not just entertainment

The Hollywood Musical Goes to War

By Allen L. Woll
Nelson-Hall, 186 pp., \$19.95; \$9.95 paper

The Hollywood Musical

By Jane Feuer
Indiana University Press, 130 pp. \$22.50; \$7.95 paper

By Peter Carroll

The Hollywood musical, too easily and too often dismissed as escapist entertainment, emerges in these two scholarly studies as a subject worthy of serious consideration.

In his analysis of the musicals of World War II, Rutgers University historian Allen Woll persuasively demonstrates the political content of this seemingly frivolous genre. Meanwhile, University of Pittsburgh film scholar Jane Feuer goes even further, arguing that "the musical is Hollywood writ large," a genre whose content is often about Hollywood and therefore also about itself. Taken together, these books encourage us to reconsider our definitions of film entertainment and the value of film literacy—the ability to understand and interpret movie images.

Woll's study is the more simple and straightforward of the two (though its generalizations are also less persuasive than Feuer's). By examining the content of World War II musicals—narrative, plot, lyrics and visual imagery—he suggests that the es-

capist formula of Depression-era musicals proved irrelevant in the anxious climate of the wartime era. And the introduction of explicit political themes undermined the seemingly happy facades in which Hollywood had specialized.

In *Lady Be Good* (1941), for example, fond memories of "the last time I saw Paris" inevitably juxtapose with the Nazi occupation, while a divorce-prone husband and wife songwriting team threaten the old clichés about happy marriage. Even overtly escapist fare, such as Vincent Minelli's nostalgic *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944), reveal an undercurrent of imminent tragedy.

Within these wartime musicals, Woll traces the fairly obvious public relations campaign designed to mobilize the home front. The image of the American soldier—which ranged stereotypically from the draft dodger to the coward to the heroic G.I.—became, as Woll puts it, "a giant enlistment poster, encouraging American citizens to either enlist or accept the draft without resentment or fear." Similarly, the wartime musical encouraged American women to join the war effort. But Woll also points out that the proliferation of transvestite comedy in these wartime films may well reflect an underlying anxiety about these changing social roles.

The musical presentation of Latin America, typified by the stardom of Carmen Miranda, paralleled the government's "Good Neighbor" policy. While the depiction of blacks, meanwhile, articulated the principle of separate but equal. Many black musical sequences were carefully filmed, Woll points out, so that racist censors could eliminate the scenes without disrupting the narrative flow. And the subject of economic classes existed in these films only in order to deny their existence in real life.

People's musicals.

Jane Feuer's study of the Hollywood musical picks up where Woll's stops. Moving beyond the explicit content of films, she focuses on their structure. Stressing the popularity of the "backstage" musical—a show about a show being performed inside the film—Feuer links this genre to the notion that musical entertainment tries to ground itself in the "people" rather than on some expensive Hollywood set.

Most interesting is the way Feuer's analysis places Woll's historical commentary within a larger ideological framework. Writing about a rise-to-fame montage in *Lady Be Good*, for example, Feuer shows how the familiar cinematic device of newspaper headlines and diverse performances implies that the musical product is actually "a contagious 'folk' phenomenon."

Feuer observes, "Mass distribution becomes a blessing rather than a curse." Similarly the "Skip to My Lou" sequence in *Meet Me in St. Louis* emphasizes a "fresh, unrehearsed quality" that attempts to deny its own elaborate choreography. What we, the audience, seem to observe is a spontaneous public entertainment, not a form of mass pro-



duction that requires a ticket for admission.

The Hollywood musical was unique, Feuer points out, because its "explicit function was to glorify American entertainment while at the same time being itself a form of entertainment." Such assumptions produced endless imitations and self-quoting, which culminates today in television spoofs about the old Hollywood. (Feuer, consequently, disagrees with Woll's assertion that the musical format died along with the old studio system.)

Beyond escapism.

In denying the escapist nature of Hollywood musicals, both Woll and Feuer amply document the existence of intrinsic messages—partly conscious, partly subliminal—within the genre. And what they show about the language of these films logically extends to all other forms of mass media—tele-

Hollywood tried to pass off its elaborate creations as "folk" phenomena rather than works of mass production.

vision, records, even politically "correct" types of "entertainment."

What we seem to lack, however, is a convenient key for deciphering and translating these implicit messages. And so, at a time when it is fashionable to bemoan the decline of literacy in this country (low SAT scores, "Garfield" on the bestseller lists), perhaps we should instead be more concerned with the development of an alternative literacy and begin seriously to teach Johnny and Janie how to "read" film—to critically understand this other "language" that surrounds them.

The importance of this literacy is not simply, as Woll might suggest, to understand the content of the images we are viewing or the sounds we are hearing, but more basically, as Feuer implies, to remind us that the process of "entertainment"—especially entertainment for hire—has ideological dimensions. From their separate disciplines, Woll and Feuer offer complementary codes to decipher the Hollywood musical. But the implications of their research is much broader. "Unless we put the Hollywood musical in its proper place in the history of entertainment," advises Feuer about the show within the show, "...we may never see what its revelations are trying to conceal." ■ *Peter Carroll is the author of It Seemed Like Nothing Happened: The Tragedy & Promise of America in the 1970s.*

Apart from the content, the process of entertainment—especially entertainment for hire—has ideological dimensions.



MUSIC

By Carole Bass & Paul Bass

FREEDOM VILLAGE, MISS.

The sun burns relentlessly over the cotton fields and gravel roads. Just taking a walk, or even driving in this heat can slow you down to the pace of a weary country blues song.

This is blues country, the Mississippi Delta, where Robert Johnson, Muddy Waters and many others grew up singing about picking cotton for their white bosses.

But that was decades ago. Muddy Waters, Mississippi John Hurt, B.B. King and the other famous blues players born here are gone—either dead or transplanted to Northern cities. And the blues, or at least the blues they sang, are almost gone too. Poverty still plagues the Delta, but machines now pick the cotton. Those mean old bollweevil blues, the work songs that begged the sun to go down so the field hands could rest, hold no reality for the young blacks. They prefer "Give Up the Funk" and "Super-freak."

But a local group is trying to keep the local musical tradition alive with the annual Mississippi Delta Blues Festival.

The sixth festival took place here September 17, filling the air with 10 hours of nothing but the blues. Gospel blues singer Boyd Rivers picked "Jesus Met the Woman at the Well" on electric guitar, slow and steady but rough at the edges. James "Son" Thomas played the Delta blues in their rawest form on an acoustic guitar. There were loud, fast blues tunes that featured electric pianos and even funk-style bass licks. There were loud, slow blues with wailing harmonicas and long, weeping electric guitar solos. The Sam Brothers Five brought bluesy-sounding accordion-dominated music called zydeco from their hometown of Scott, La. The festival even included the Nighthawks, a white blues band from Washington, D.C.

Thirty thousand blues lovers joined the celebration, with some

Still singin' the blues in South

coming from as far away as California and Great Britain. Black and white, young and old, they boogied under a blistering sun, drinking beer, eating barbecued ribs, dancing and clapping.

"It was getting hard to find blues around here," Charles Bannerman says. "I would go to Connecticut, say, or London or New York, and I could hear all this great blues, but I couldn't hear any in Mississippi."

Bannerman directs a grassroots black organization called Mississippi Action for Community Education (MACE) that conceived the idea for the festival and runs it each year with the help of 120 volunteers.

"Oh yeah, I go to Nelson Street [a strip of bars on the black side of the railroad tracks in the nearby city of Greenville]," he says. "You can hear the music, but the sound system's bad because they can't afford the right kind of equipment. It was mostly white people who were listening to the blues—blacks weren't into it anymore. It was dying."

Freedom Village isn't much to look at. Except for the signs pointing the way to the festival, there's nothing to distinguish the community's weathered wood buildings and dry, dusty fields from the surrounding towns. But its history is quite different.

Founded in 1966 by a group of displaced sharecroppers and civil rights activists, it represented a collective effort by poor blacks to bring dignity to the work of cotton farming.

But most of the 200 or so people who live at Freedom Village today hold non-agricultural jobs or live on welfare. The village is little more than a rural low-income housing project. Mechanized farming has pushed the old sharecroppers off the land and just about closed the door on an era of black Southern history.

Not everything has changed, though. The acres of soybean and cotton fields that surround Freedom Village, the narrow gravel roads that traverse them, the skinny old people who sit in their front yards (there are no porches) with their skinny dogs could be the subjects of Depression-era photographs.

Mississippi is still the poorest state in the nation and this summer's hot, dry weather has hit the rural areas especially hard. Farmers in Bolivar County, near Freedom Village, expect to lose at least \$25 million in failed crops. The poverty is a reminder of the days when the blues thrived.

Pearlie Hardy is only 42, but she remembers when she used to crowd into her dad's truck with some of her 20 sisters and brothers to listen to the radio. She was eight or 10 years old, it was the end of a long day's work in the cotton field and that was the only radio they had. Blues was all it played.

"Muddy Waters, John Lee Hooker...all the older blues singers," Hardy recalls, sitting at a little table in her Country Riders Store, about a quarter-mile from Freedom Village. It's a wooden shack with the green paint peeling and the screen door hanging crookedly.

When she was a kid, these neighborhood places often housed "storefront juke"—blues bands with homemade guitars and washboard percussion. Hardy's place has a stereo instead. On the day of the festival she tuned in the live radio broadcast.

Blues is rare on the radio, Hardy says. *Return of the native: John Lee Hooker*



Country-style blues is now rare in the Mississippi Delta.

dy says, because a "new generation of teenagers" has turned to different forms of music. "My children tease me about the blues. They tease me about being old-fashioned."

She attributed the changing tastes to living conditions. "If you have an easy lifestyle, then the blues don't mean anything to you."

The kids growing up in Freedom Village today know hard times, but of a kind different from their parents'. Teenagers can find summer youth-program jobs while their parents had to pick cotton.

"It really is an experience, you know. You have to feel it," Hardy says. "People getting up in the morning at six o'clock, dew on the ground, going and picking cotton.... It's so hot your clothes are soaking wet.... You can't identify with that. But I can, you see. You're in the field picking cotton and the airplane's going overhead spraying cotton poison. You gotta inhale it, hold your breath until the scent goes away. It's that kind of thing."

Resuscitating the blues.

It might seem that the Delta blues are doomed. But Hardy talks of a recent blues revival, spurred partly by a return to economic hard times. She also speaks of the festival as a sign of the blues' reviving popularity.

The size of the festival crowd has quintupled since the first one in 1977. Since then, 30 other smaller blues festivals have sprouted in the South. Buddy King's "Blues Alley" show on Little Rock's KAAZ-AM goes out to 21 other states and 14 foreign countries. And this year Son Thomas brought a new bassist to the festival: his son, a funk player who until recently eschewed the blues.

Still, some of the optimism sounds like wishful thinking: the

Mississippi is still the poorest state.

blues won't knock Rick James or Def Leppard off the charts in the near future. Even blues dj Allen "Sly Fox" Ferguson—who confidently told us that "65 percent of Pine Bluff, Ark., likes the blues" and that the rest of the country is coming around, too—acknowledged that Delta blues artists often still get more appreciation in Europe than in the U.S. The problem, he says, lies with the people who decide what music to play on the radio and sell in stores. "This is what you'd call—I hate to use the word—ignorance on the program directors' part."

But Ferguson, like practically everyone else at the sixth annual Mississippi Delta Blues Festival, found his share of good omens as well as good vibes. For instance, Sam Meyers got most of Freedom Village in a frenzy with his blues harp blowing in one of the day's first sets. It was the 47-year-old Mississippi native's third festival appearance; like other local bluesmen, he was coming home after years of making a name in Atlanta, Chicago and European clubs.

"The blues is on the rise again," he says. "It just took a vacation, so to speak, for other musics to, you know, take a stroll for a while. But it never did go no place."

By Sari Feldman

Ask a pack of teenagers for a list of best loved books and at least one of the four titles by S.E. Hinton is sure to turn up—probably more. More than seven million copies of her young adult novels have been sold to the teenage market. And now, kids are flocking to the movies made from her novels, first *Tex*, then Francis Ford Coppola's *The Outsiders* and now *Rumble Fish*, which director Coppola co-wrote with Hinton.

Hinton became a bestselling young adult author in 1967 with the release of *The Outsiders*, a story of class rivalry among Oklahoma teenagers, written when she was 16. The novel was quite a phenomenon for the young adult market, which was still wallowing in romances for girls and sports stories for boys.

The Outsiders merged the style of young adult novel with a subject that dealt with prejudice, violence, passion and a social code modeled on the "golden rule." Parents and educators were concerned about the violent scenes and characters' anti-establishment attitudes. Hinton, however, was concerned with the reactions of her fellow teenage readers and with demonstrating to authors and publishers the need for realistic fiction.

The Outsiders is the story of the Greasers and the Socs. Greasers are from low-income families, broken homes, the wrong side of the tracks. The gang commits minor crimes but the group's code of honor and loyalty to one another cancels out any condemnation of their criminal acts.

The Socs (short for Socials) are the original preppies—products of wealth, status and privilege. Despite opportunities, fancy cars and comfortable homes they prey on Greasers for sport.

The action of the novel takes place outside a world of parents, law enforcement officials or concern for authority. An initial violent act, a Greaser's murder of a Soc in self-defense, breeds more violence and the death of two Greasers. The story is highly melodramatic. But Hinton's vivid characters, based on people and situations from her own high school, have sustained teenagers' interest for 16 years.

Most teens identify with Ponyboy Curtis, the central character and narrator of the story. Not only are he and his gang the underdogs, but they're also potential heroes deserving a better chance.

Hinton tries to apologize for Bob—the murdered Soc—by blaming parental indulgence for his bulliness, but it is a weak argument and readers often gloss over this justification, preferring to see *The Outsiders* as a fatalistic morality drama with the message that without money there is no control.

Class conflict, not class analysis.

Following *The Outsiders*, Hinton's subsequent novels—*That Was Then, This Is Now*, *Rumble Fish* and *Tex*—are also concerned with questions of class conflict and class structure. Economic survival is a problem for the characters and maturity means a heightened awareness of one's own place in society. Anger, hostility and criminal acts are predictable reactions, but the more sensitive and intuitive characters begin to dissociate from their class, aspiring to be like the rich (or the comfortable middle class).



YOUNG ADULT MARKET

Teen scenes on the wrong side of the tracks

Good fiction writing, especially in a novel that can score a 4.6 reading level on the Fry Readability Graph, prevents the author from launching into an analysis of economic oppression and distribution of wealth. In Hinton's case it is more likely that the theme of class was a reaction to the social and economic injustice she viewed in high school rather than a conscious political statement.

What really seems to be at the center of Hinton's writing is thoughts on the importance of friendship, concerns about family relationships and questions of trust and betrayal. Class structure is related to the themes because one's "class," or more appropriately, one's gang, should be trusted to provide protection and support in all situations.

In *Rumblefish*, protection is provided by Motorcycle Boy, the idolized older brother of the narrator, Rusty James. Motorcycle Boy had been a gang leader, but as the gangs have grown out of style Motorcycle has become increasingly antisocial, to the point of feigning deafness to turn off the outside world. Rusty James' desire to copy his brother stems from an insecurity with his own tough-guy image. In the end Rusty James can neither save his brother nor become like him. He is left with no one to emulate and with no personality to call his own in what may be Hinton's bleakest novel.

It would be nice to completely applaud Hinton's efforts. She cares about teenagers, she is sen-

sitive to adolescent problems and she respects the opinions of young people. Hinton also writes easy-to-read books that capture teenagers' attention, sustain their interest and make them think.

Hinton's early promise, however, has not matured with the novels following *The Outsiders*. Each seems a less vibrant imitation, with increasingly tired dialog and dated situations.

Also, her female characters are shadowy, insubstantial figures serving only as story devices. Hinton does not deny her preference for male characters. The 16-year-old author disguised her gender by publishing under the initials S.E. She believed that boys would not accept fiction by women, regardless of the subject matter. This belief has persisted and in recent interviews she explained that as a teenager she couldn't relate to the stereotypical interests of girls (hair, clothes, make-up) and gravitated toward boys and their interests.

It's not surprising that in 1967 a young, imaginative, female

writer would have aligned herself with males and affected a "tomboy" style, but it is disappointing that Hinton has not altered her viewpoint and provided equal rights for female characters—or even a book of their own.

Hinton on film.

Hinton's appeal to teenagers and the fact that teenagers comprise a sizable chunk of the movie audience explains why three of her novels have recently hit the screen. Her fourth book, *That Was Then, This Is Now*, has been optioned by Martin Sheen.

Tim Hunter, director of *Tex*, remained true to the novel, capturing the same characterization and volatile emotionalism that appeals to these readers. But Francis Coppola's reproduction of *The Outsiders* is a stilted, stylized gang picture with a confusing story line that may send some people back to the book in order to understand the characters' motivation as well as parts of the plot.

The sparse dialog, brief char-

Working-class heroes: three of S.E. Hinton's novels have recently become movies, including RUMBLE FISH (above).

acterizations and melodramatic story line that faired well with the readers of *The Outsiders* did not make the transition to the screen because the visual elements exaggerated the story, dated the setting and caricatured Hinton's "angry young men."

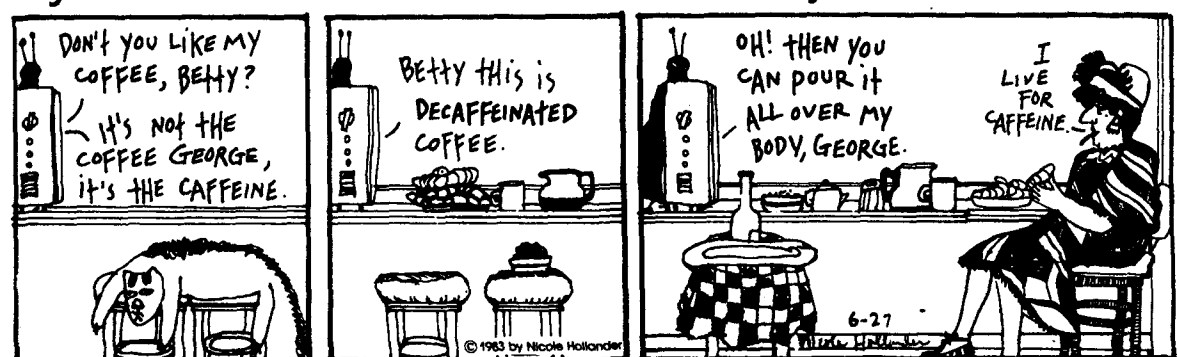
Coppola's film version of *Rumble Fish* that premiered at the New York Film Festival was co-authored by Hinton. Hinton states that her current experiences with film have put her back in touch with teenagers—both the adolescent actor and the adolescent fan. Hopefully this will stir her concern for the individual teenager (not for the profitable teen market), renewing her earlier vision of honest stories for young adults and providing the public with fresh images of a teenage world.

Sari Feldman is a librarian in Syracuse, N.Y.



Sylvia

by Nicole Hollander



Pakistan

Continued from page 7

ficers are permitted. The entire zone is manned by Americans, Mengal said. Other Baluch leaders have alleged that the U.S. is constructing a giant naval base in the province, and they warn that this could lead to a renewed civil conflict in the region.

American control over the Pakistan regime has also been evident in the regime's foreign policy. It has been well established that the Soviet leaders, at Yuri Andropov's urging, had agreed to a deal with Pakistan's nervous generals on Afghanistan. According to the deal, the Soviet Union would withdraw all its troops, a coalition government would be installed in Kabul and the Pakistanis would close down all the Afghan bases in their country. Pakistan's military leaders were on the verge of initialing the agreement, under the benign aegis of the UN Secretary General, in Geneva, but the Reagan administration intervened rapidly and Secretary of State George Shultz prevented any deal from taking place.

In private, Pakistani officials were outraged and claimed that the U.S. wanted Russians in Afghanistan to justify their own interference in Central America. In public, they obediently deferred the agreement. It might not be a total surprise, therefore, if the Russians encouraged the 3,000 to 4,000 Baluch guerrillas currently resting in camps outside Kandahar in Afghanistan to return to their own country in view of the present crisis.

In any event the current instability will not go away of its own accord. Even if the military regime falls, the politicians currently waiting in the wings will be con-

fronted by a serious dilemma. The only way to institute a stable socio-political order is to dismantle the army and alter its character.

This demand from the provinces of Sind and Baluchistan is a crucial prerequisite for the existence of a voluntary federal republic. They will furthermore have to concede maximum regional autonomy and push through a drastic set of reforms in the countryside.

If they fail, the army will be back and with a vengeance. Every time the citizens of Pakistan have been offered a choice, they have voted for those who offered "food, clothing and shelter" for all. Every time they have been bitterly disappointed, their hopes crushed under the chains of army tanks. If this fateful cycle is repeated, Pakistan will cease to exist as a state. Balkanization will become unstoppable, no matter how many bloodbaths any future military dictator unleashes.

This decade, then, is Pakistan's last chance. Few other states in the 20th century have been bedeviled by so permanent and festering an identity crisis. The irony of history lies in the fact that those who created the state along confessional lines are not capable of holding it together. Those who could save Pakistan—its people—are not yet organized at a statewide level. The result could well be a total collapse at the end of the '80s.

It is, after all, not an accident that the most popular world leader in Sind today is Indira Gandhi, the prime minister of India. For she alone has spoken out against the killings in Sind, whose victims outnumber the unfortunate passengers of Korean Airlines flight 007 and are just as innocent.

Tariq Ali's most recent book Can Pakistan Survive? is published by Penguin Books and will be published in the U.S. in February 1984 by Schocken.

Argentina elections

Continued from page 9

port. In 1978, 14 women began demonstrating every Thursday in front of the government palace and were repeatedly subject to accusations of being "insane." Today, it is a national association with more than 3,000 active members. When the mothers appear on the streets of Buenos Aires wearing their traditional white scarves embroidered with their missing children's names, they are met with applause and cheers.

Another factor making a reversal of the self-amnesty difficult is that the military says it plans to turn power over to the civilian government 90 days after the October 30 elections. Regime opponents argue that this will create not only a chaotic power vacuum, but also will allow military and security agents—who fear a cancellation of the amnesty—three months' time to leave the country.

Bonafini says her group will fight to have a transition period no greater than a month, while Perez Esquivel believes it should be no longer than 15 days. And both leaders express confidence that the military will have to give in to the demands under an expected wave of mass mobilizations. At press time, there were reports attributed to anonymous sources that the military will end their transition period sometime in early December.

Out of control.

The other knot that must be untied by the new regime is the economy. Argentina currently suffers from the highest inflation rate in the world, which is moving so fast it is almost impossible to calculate. Recent estimates say this year it will run

somewhere between 500 and 1000 percent. The national currency continues to devalue at an alarming rate, making investment in production ever less attractive compared to the profit-making possibilities created by speculation.

The dramatic drop in the consumers' buying power has provoked a wave of work stoppages and even a brief general strike, which demanded significant wage increases. A recent Catholic Church study on the economy claims that the average real salary has fallen 40 percent since the military took power. The same report says that five million Argentines currently earn salaries below the official poverty line, that only 34 percent of the population is able to completely cover its basic minimum material needs, that 28 percent of children under seven years of age have never attended school and that 48 percent of those children who do enroll in school drop out before graduation. These figures are disastrous for a country that considered itself so prosperous that at least its middle class felt more a part of Europe than of Latin America.

The heaviest economic burden being left behind by the dictatorship is the foreign debt, which has ballooned to \$40 billion—one of the highest in the world. The monetarist-inspired free import policy put in place by the military permitted the spending of hard currency to bring everything from Japanese clothes to American TVs into the country, running up the debt and crippling less efficient domestic industry.

The annual servicing of the debt is eating up most of the country's revenues from exports, making expanded production a dubious proposal. The military has been busy renegotiating the debt, especially with U.S. banks. But the terms of the deal have been so unfavorable to Argentina that, in this highly nationalistic country, it has brought jeers from the right as well as from the left.

A mixed bag of politicians recently filed a law suit charging government leaders with a "violation of national sovereignty" in agreeing to the terms set by the banks. And even a right-wing nationalist judge from the southern part of the country successfully placed for a brief time earlier this month the director of the Argentine Central Bank in jail as he returned from a bargaining session in the U.S.

The new government will have to reactivate the economy, put people back to work and slow down the inflation rate if it wishes to retain broad-based political support. But such an enthusiastic economic plan is sure to meet head on with the demands and needs of those holding the paper on the foreign debt. It will be no easy choice deciding whom to please—a disgruntled populace that wants immediate economic relief or the banks that want prompt payment.

Marc Cooper, based in Los Angeles, writes about Latin America for a variety of publications.



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March

15

1971—William Rehnquist on surveillance: "I do not believe it violates the particular constitutional rights of those who are surveyed."

1972—A disguised Howard Hunt visits Dita Beard to discuss the authenticity of her memo. (see March 18)

1975—Elsa Gutierrez admits being an IRS spy in Operation Leprechaun and reveals she turned in her father. (see March 25)

1982—Pres. Reagan says journalists should "trust us and put themselves in our hands."

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions** and **\$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Beth Maschnot**.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

October 21

Annette Rubinstein, just returned from 10 months as visiting professor in Beijing, talks on "Young People in China: Tradition and Conflict." What are the concerns, attitudes, prospects of Chinese students? What is currently in Chinese newspapers, periodicals, films? Informal discussion. Auspices: *Science & Society, Radical History Review*. \$5.00. Students: \$2.50. 7:30

p.m. John Jay College, 445 W. 59th St., NYC.

BERKELEY, CA

October 21-23

Lift Every Voice for Civil Rights—1963-1983. 4th Meiklejohn Institute Symposium Weekend featuring Hon. John Conyers, Anne Braden, Myles Horton, C.B. King, Aileen Hernandez, Ann Fagan Ginger and 60 panelists. 10/21: Friday Night Concert starring Len Chandler at 8 p.m., West Campus Auditorium, 1222 University Ave., Berkeley. \$8 at door. 10/22: Sat. Symposium at Laney College Forum Bldg., 990 Fallon St., Oakland, 8:30-5:30. \$5. 10/22: Sat. Night Banquet, 6:30 p.m., Oakland Hyatt Regency. \$25. 10/23: Sun. Matinee Film Show featuring *Fundi*, documentaries on SNCC, 2-5 p.m., La Pena, 2105 Shattuck, Berkeley. \$5. For more information and tickets, call Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute, (415) 848-0599; Box 673, Berkeley, CA 94701.

ROMULUS, N.Y.

October 22-24

Join international days of protest against cruise and Pershing II missiles at Seneca Army Depot (Pershing storage site). 10/22: demonstrate with Bella Abzug, Ben Spock and thousands at Sampson State Park. 10/24: nonviolent blockade of Depot. Volunteers, funds and active participation urgently needed. Buses available. NYC (212) 673-1808, Upstate (716) 243-4002.

CHICAGO, IL

October 24-November 30

Second City Socialist School Fall '83 classes: Gramsci and Socialist Strategy, Mondays Oct. 24-Nov. 14; The U.S. in Central America and the Caribbean from the 1890s to 1983, Tuesdays Oct. 25-Nov. 15; Socialist Feminism, Wednesdays Oct. 26-Nov. 30. All classes held at the DSA office, 1300 W. Belmont, at 7:30 p.m. Registration: \$10 per course, \$3 per session. For more information, call (312) 871-1986.

November 5-6

DSA Midwest Conference on Socialist Feminism will be held at Cross-Currents, 3206 N. Wilton. Speakers will include Barbara Ehrenreich, Rosemary Reuther, Zillah Eisenstein. Sessions on feminization of poverty, feminism and the family, women of color, women and political action, feminist strategy, and more. Registration: \$25 at door, \$20 for pre-registrants, \$5 for unemployed. Free housing and childcare available for pre-registrants. For more information, call (312) 871-7700.

NASHVILLE, TN

November 5-6

DSA Midwest Conference on Socialist Feminism will be held at Cross-Currents, 3206 N. Wilton. Speakers will include Stella Nowicki of *Union Maids*. Sessions on women in the South, feminization of poverty, process and women's leadership within DSA, local feminist organizing, feminist strategy, and more. Registration: \$25 at the door, \$20 for pre-registrants, \$5 for unemployed. Free childcare available for pre-registrants. For more information, call (312) 871-7700.

Fashion

Continued from page 24

they've just finished a trek around the world on the heels of some Buddhist monk?

Then to top it off—and this is the magazines' implicit recognition that a fashion statement is nothing if it isn't complete—a thick coat of pancake makeup is matted on the female face, the lips stained a color resembling a four-day-old bruise and the head wrapped with scarves the way a nurse bandages someone suffering from a bullet to the brain.

The end effect? The same futuristic guise that made the costumes in the film *The Road Warrior* so riveting.

On second inspection, Japan's new designs potentially offend, once exported to the U.S., because the alien shabby-chic look comes ominously close to the clothes worn by the poor in this country. The layer-upon-layer impact seems to mimic the "style" of bag people, who appear to wear all the clothes they own at once. When it's hard to distinguish \$1,000 imported designer outfits from Salvation Army hand-me-downs, perhaps it's time to ask whether in the search for revolutionary fashion a perilous line has been crossed.

But on final inspection, Japan's new clothes also give us reason to pause and reflect on what fashion says about the times, assuming Vreeland's words ring true. The fashion of the '80s is still evolving, of course, and like any style in its early stages, Japanese experiments such as the ones described above end up looking overdone, silly and immediately expendable.

But some of the experimenting—much of it inspired by the age-old kimono—makes a lot of sense. If the original designs of several innovative designers are any barometer, the Japanese are nudging fashion toward an intriguing let-the-past-be-damned stance. The designs challenge our preconceived notions about how clothes should look and also allow for an incredible range of freedom of expression and movement. Exactly what light this sheds on the decade's emerging moods and mores will be open to interpretation for some time, but at the least it signals a healthy backlash against the blandness of the '70s.

American pacesetters only began embracing the Far Eastern style the past few years, yet the roots of this new attitude can be traced to Tokyo in the early '70s, when designer Issey Miyake first advanced his idea of "peeling away to the limit." Approaching design as if it were art more than craft, Miyake—now considered the founder of the Tokyo movement—began constructing fashions that returned clothing to its most basic form: loose, flowing and free of adornment.

He rebelled against cutting fabric to fit the body, instead laying it effortlessly along the natural contours to silhouette the body in movement. Over the past decade, this Miyake idea has evolved to an extreme. Watching his outfitted models maneuver down a fashion-show runway conjures up images of spinning tops and early Martha Graham modern dances.

The body becomes a rack on which to hang a Miyake design. This approach is a 180-degree turn from the self-conscious intrigue of the halter top or the coquettish allure of the mini skirt—snug designs that in the recent past were praised for their potentially liberating effect on women's fashion. It is also a refreshing switch from the more-proper-than-thou

appeal of American preppy designs by Ralph Lauren or Perry Ellis.

Instead of being a testimony to his own good taste, Miyake's designs reflect a liberating attitude about clothes—one so unconventional that it ends up seeming conventional. If people are going to pay hundreds of dollars for a designer-labeled suit of wool or dress of linen, his thinking goes, why not allow the lush fabrics and intricate patterns to speak for themselves? One step further, why not make them the focus of attention instead of the body?

Although this philosophy may make Miyake's designs at first appear overly abstract, a close examination of what he's up to unveils a vision that for years has been sorely lacking in fashion. It is a practicality interwoven with an acute appreciation for dress not just as a badge of economic status or the result of copycatting the latest in the fashion mags, but as a visual means of self-expression.

What makes his brand of design so liberating is that once on the body, Miyake's voluminous and free-form clothes—and those of other Japanese designers who have followed his lead—themselves become objects of aesthetic appreciation, shrouding the fact that all bodies do not look alike. So, the Japanese designs advance a unanimity of appearance, but do not demand the tiresome androgyny that was required to carry off many fashions of the '70s.

Not surprisingly, the models who promote these designs are as pencil-thin as ever. Yet stumpy customers can also slip into them and feel good about how they look. For those who have grown accustomed to self-deprecation when donning a potential purchase in front of the unflattering mirror that hangs in each store's dressing-room, that is a liberating feeling indeed.

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A recent comment by Miyake captures this philosophy: "My search is for the democratization of clothes. I want to design clothes for everyone, not just a few. My design is no design."

That's exactly what one New York storeowner finds so engaging about Japan's new clothes. Although admitting that they are not being snatched up as quickly as she expected, she says she'll continue to stock them for several coming seasons because "Miyake's designs don't condescend to the intelligent man or woman."

"They are unlike anything I've seen before," she says, "and that's why they're in vogue right now. But what's different about Miyake's clothes is that they don't go out of style. They become old friends."

Of course, each Miyake design comes adorned with a hefty price tag—one that fits into the mid-dollar range of high fashion. But his clothes appeal to enough people to garner his company more than \$35 million in annual sales, plus growing clout in the international fashion scene.

To enable the Japanese design concept to reach "everyone, not just a few," the loose-fitting, anything-goes style will eventually have to filter down to those clothing manufacturers that make assembly-line garb most people can afford. To some extent, this is already happening. There's always the risk, however, that once these clothes have attained mass appeal—not just fashionable snob appeal—they will go the way of the leisure suit.

But if the day comes when these clothes can be spotted on the street, at the workplace and the theater, the Japanese may have accomplished the democratization they aspire to. At that point fashion, for the first time in a long time, could find itself advancing, instead of reflecting, social attitudes.

CLASSIFIED

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OCTOBER, JEWISH CURRENTS, Editorial, "Israel After Begin," Lawrence Bush, "The March on Washington," Isak Arbus, "A Holocaust Survivor Visits Poland," Tran Dan, "Vietnam and Israel." Single copies postpaid, \$1.50. Subscription \$12, USA. Jewish Currents, Dept. T, 22 E. 17 St., NYC 10003.

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EMPIRE'S



NEW

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By Sheryl Larson

Diana Vreeland, former editor of *Vogue* magazine and this country's grande dame of fashion, once said, "The world is hooked on fashion. Why? Because it is correct for the time." Well, maybe.

Looking back in dismay at the '70s, observers now agree that fashion was in a vacuum—an admission that comes as no surprise given the me-first preoccupation of that decade. Few new ideas in dress could be spotted on the street; only yesterday's styles at up-to-date prices.

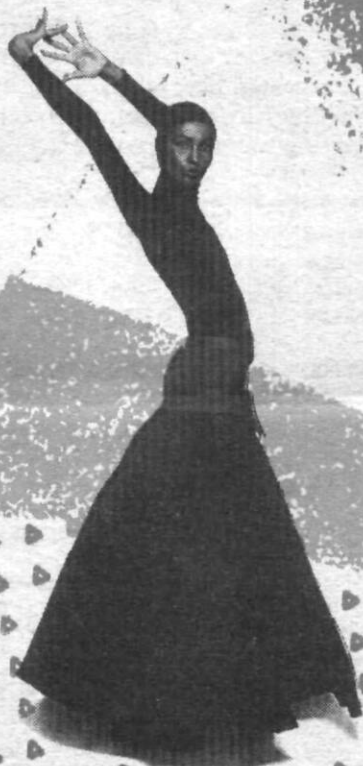
Yet during the '70s success smiled on three fashion capitals, which together secured a worldwide grip on buyers' tastes while simultaneously raising the industry's profit lines to unprecedented heights. For the fashion-minded, there was New York the comfortable, Paris the *couture* and Milan the chic.

Now enter Tokyo in the '80s, which is being trumpeted as either the cutting edge of fashion design or an unparalleled catastrophe, depending on one's sensibility.

On first inspection, Japan's new clothes shock because they look unlike anything that has come before, at least in recent memory. The "look"—tattered, layered and astonishingly loose-fitting—has been termed "rebellious" by the fashion magazines, which always have an appetite for anything that snubs convention. The Japanese look is especially appealing to trendsetting editors, however, since it is anti-fashion fashion—the foremost statement of all.

What else could you call the three-yard-wide dress featured in a recent issue of *Vogue* that mummy wraps around the body? A knee-length sweater handknit so as to resemble swiss cheese? Or a pair of ragged leather sandals looking like

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CLOTHES